

**Perspectives on Teacher  
Professional Development:**

**A Study of the Experiences and  
Perceptions of Black Teachers in  
South Africa**

**Cecilia Sminkie Moyo**

Thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy, Faculty of Social Sciences,  
The University of Edinburgh,  
August 1995



This thesis is my work. I have not submitted it, or any part of it, in a previous application for a degree.

Cecilia Sminkie Moyo



**Dedicated to my daughter**

**Nqobile**

*[Your presence in my life is a million blessings]*

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## Abstract

This thesis employs a biographical method to understand the phenomenon of teacher professional development in South Africa. It was conducted between 1992 and 1995, and involved interviewing 60 black teachers from Johannesburg and Durban. It examines a relatively under-researched area in South Africa – namely, the perceptions and experiences of black teachers with regard to their professional development. Black teachers have, hitherto, been treated as a homogeneous group, with little account taken of unique backgrounds from which they respond, both subjectively and objectively, to various structures, and ideological modes of domination and contestation.

Instead, teachers' accounts show that no matter how strong and pervasive certain aspects of their shared professional culture may be and how effectively they have been socialised into it, their actions and attitudes to professional development are partly rooted in each teacher's own biography and view of the world. The findings suggest that teachers are not merely pushed into development: rather, they make conscious choices based on the interaction between their personal and professional lives, and the material socio-political contexts. Also emerging from this analysis is the view that teachers' conceptions of professional development are influenced by beliefs, 'myths' and practices found in the African culture. Most notable is the communal culture of '**ubuntu botho**' – a person is a person through others.

Based on these results, the study provides fresh insights into teacher development in a South African context. It suggests that the discourse of teacher development is dynamic and can no longer be analysed using a

conventional neo-Marxist perspective to critique socio-economic and political structures , or a neo-liberal skills-oriented approach. It is essential also to attend to human subjects, giving space and credibility to self-creation, mediation and resistance; thereby, linking structures and institutions to human agency. As such, teacher development should be based on an understanding that it is a complex, and creative triangular process through which teachers dismiss, challenge, recreate, mediate and reproduce notions of professional development.

The thesis is divided into four parts. Part I opens with a discussion of the biographical research method and its application in this study. Through a literature review the history and politics of teacher education and development is examined. These are located within the socio-political context, and are supported by the biographically based research. Part II delineates a dialectical relationship between social structure and the education of teachers and generates a discussion of teacher professional development practices in an international context. The experiences, perceptions and rationales of teachers are presented in Part III. Finally, Part IV revisits theoretical perspectives and an alternative paradigm of teacher development is presented. Suggestions on how this paradigm can be integrated into teacher development policy in a new South Africa are outlined.

## Acknowledgements

Having been made to feel part of a community of scholars at the University of Edinburgh and beyond, it is with difficulty that I single out individuals among the many who directly and indirectly, consciously and perhaps unknowingly, made the completion of this thesis possible.

My gratitudes go to my supervisor, Dr Donn, whose critical comments provided invaluable direction and stimulation. She provided much-needed academic, intellectual and personal assistance. To David Alexander whose MSc course formed the basis for my alternative orientation to education. To Dr Dai Hounsell for providing thorough and critical scrutiny of my propositions. To the TLA staff, Lynne and Jenny for providing much needed assistance. To the staff of the Education Department: Anne, Christine, Norma and Pam. To the Centre for African Studies for providing provocative and rigorous seminars and debates.

Secondly, I would like to thank all the teachers whose stories are presented in this study. Their stories kept the flame of human spirit alive more especially when the demands of writing this thesis turned me into a machine. Also thanked here are other key informants – SEP, ELTIC, TUP, Anglovaal staff and the principals of the schools I visited.

Beyond the University of Edinburgh my appreciation goes to Ailsa and Kirsten. Their support and friendship will remain a valued gift. To my friends who became my extended family, who made the task less hectic; Allison, Audrey, Cathy, , Isabella, Laura and family, Malcolm, Stan, Tracy, Veronica, Noliqhwa and many more. Back in South Africa, I would like to thank my friends: Canzi for years of friendship and encouragement, Itumeleng, Kenny, Khanya, Joe, Jonathan, Montoa and family for support.

This thesis would not have been possible were it not for the financial support of the Africa Educational Trust [AET] and The University of Edinburgh Southern African Scholarship [EUSAS]. I deeply appreciate the financial and emotional support given by the AET throughout my stay in Scotland.

Lastly, heartfelt thanks goes to my three families, the Moyo's, the Mphuthi's and the Harrison's who endured seven years of my absence. Their appreciation of what I was trying to achieve was a fountain of strength.



## Glossary

ANC	African National Congress
ATASA	African Teachers' Association of South Africa
AZAPO	Azania Peoples' Organisation
BAA	Bantu Authorities Act
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BE	Bantu Education
CAC	Child Abuse Committees
CATU	Cape African Teachers' Union
CBTE	Competency Based Teachers Education
CHED	Commission for the Heads of Education Departments
CNE	Christian National Education
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DET	Department of Education and Training
DNE	Department of National Education
EEC	European Economic Community
ELTIC	English Language Teaching Information Centre
EOC	Equal Opportunities Council
FP	Fundamental Pedagogics
GAA	Group Areas Act
GNP	Gross National Product
GNU	Government of National Unity
HBU's	Historically Black Universities
HOD	Head of Department
HPTC	Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate

HSRC	Human Science Research Council
HWUs	Historically White Universities
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JMB	Joint Matriculation Board
JSTC	Junior Secondary Teachers' Certificate
LPTC	Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate
NEA	Native Educational Association
NECC	National Education Crisis Committee
NEUSA	National Education Union of South Africa
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NP	National Party
NSC	National Senior Certificate
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAC	Pan-African Congress
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
PRA	Population Registration Act
PTC	Primary Teachers' Certificate
PTD	Primary Teachers' Diploma
PTS	Parents Teachers Students Association
RAU	Rand Afrikaans University
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACHED	South African Committee for Higher Education
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADF	South African Defence Force
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Union

SAIRR	South African Institute for Race Relations
SAPRHS	South African Programme for Research in Human Sciences
SEP	Science Education Project
SRC	Student Representative Council
SSTC	Senior Secondary Teachers' Certificate
STD	Secondary Teachers' Diploma
TATU	Transvaal African Teachers' Union
TO	Total Onslaught
TOPS	Teachers' Opportunity Programmes Services
TS	Total Strategy
TUATA	Transvaal Union of African Teachers' Association
TUP	Teachers' Upgrading Project
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDW	University of Durban-Westville
UF	Urban Foundation
UNISA	University of South Africa
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WHO	World Health Organisation
WUS	World University Services
ZINTEC	Zimbabwe Integrated Teacher Education Course

# Introduction

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the South African State faced three crucial crises based on a political deficit, economic decline, and educational crises in black schools. In response the government launched a modernisation programme called the Total Strategy [TS] aimed at 'revamping' the social face of apartheid. Through this programme the state, military and business worked together to uplift the standard of living for blacks who were living in the urban areas. At the centre of this programme were a number of educational reforms. These were perceived as a key variable in the political and economic modernisation programme for South Africa.

One of the most important reforms was in-service education of teachers. In this study this is referred to as teacher professional development. A range of alternative initiatives were proposed and later implemented by the governmental educational authority which controlled black education, the Department of Education and Training [DET] , and by the white liberal non-governmental organisations [NGOs]. The initiatives of the DET focused on academic qualifications of black teachers. According to the survey carried out by Bot [1986] 20 of the 31 DET teacher development programmes identified led to formal academic qualification. The upgrading of qualifications was linked to salary incentives and other benefits such as housing subsidy. This was part of a larger political programme aimed at creating a stable urbanite black middle class.

White liberal initiatives on the other hand have been diverse. Some have been initiated by foundations [e.g. English Language Teaching

Information Centre {ELTIC}, and South African Committee for Higher Education {SACHED}} and others by individuals [e.g. Science Education Project {SEP}]. Liberal NGO initiatives have concerned themselves with curriculum-and skill-related forms of teacher development. Of the 54 NGO programmes identified in Bot's [1986] survey only six led to a formal qualifications. Most NGO programmes were sponsored by the business sector [e.g. Anglo American], the foreign departments of overseas governments [e.g. Overseas Development Administration {ODA}] and northern NGOs [e.g. World University Services {WUS}]. Having noted this, the study does not seek to examine the political, economic and hegemonic role of these agencies but to show that they were important stakeholders in teacher development.

### **Impetus for this study**

The mainsprings of the present study were three-fold. First, both DET and liberal NGO initiatives have been conceived and implemented in a top-down style. The strategies employed were 'ameliorative' rather than transformative: they were meant to improve teaching within the existing structures of Bantu Education and apartheid in general. Teachers were neither consulted nor invited to participate in the formulation of these programmes. Instead the underlying assumption was that black teachers were educationally ill-equipped and professionally deficient in the expertise necessary to make a meaningful contribution to teacher development initiatives. This view was underpinned by statistical evidence which in 1985 indicated that two-thirds [65.9% ] of teachers employed under the aegis of DET were under-qualified [DET Annual Report 1986]. This meant that these teachers had no professional qualifications or had only undergone two years' teacher training instead of

three. Similarly, the black community itself perceived their teachers as lacking in skills and knowledge. In addition, they were seen as a passive group which had allowed itself to be the instrument of the government by unquestioningly implementing Bantu Education policies.

Second, a review of academic research relating to teacher development in South Africa shows an acute shortage of studies that articulate teachers' points of view. Most research on teacher development has been concerned with the effectiveness of strategies for implementing the teacher development programme [Gray 1990], the structural constraints of Bantu education [Macdonald 1989], and the roles of private and public sectors in teacher development [Hofmeyer 1991]. Teachers in these studies are presented as a homogeneous group constrained by the structural conditions of Bantu Education. Hitherto, no study of teachers' points of view in relation to their professional development had been carried out. Instead, teachers' views appear only when they were asked to respond to preconceived programmes [Macdonald 1992, Raubenheimer 1992]. Their responses appear as appendices to these documents rather than a central thrust of the research carried out. As such, this research has contributed little to our understanding of what constitutes teacher development in South Africa. Neither has it addressed the dynamics and complexities of human action in the South African context in this field. These studies, normally conducted by white researchers, therefore provide us with only one view: they tell a tale of the white man's view of reality.

Thirdly, internationally there has emerged in recent years a growing body of scholarship on teachers' lives and experiences [Ball and Goodson 1985], teachers' identity [Nias 1989] and teachers' professional status and professional development [Hargreaves and Fullan 1992]. Central to this

work is a view that teachers' voices have been conspicuously absent from the educational literature. The importance of teachers' voices, it is argued, lies in the potential it offers of arriving at a better understanding of what constitutes teaching and teacher development [Goodson 1992, Raymond, et al 1992]. However, most of this new body of work has been concentrated in the West. We therefore lack comparative international perspectives on teachers' lives. Cultural contexts characterised by diverse socio-economic and political practices, differ in a variety of crucial ways; thus the lives and experiences of South African teachers are likely to be markedly different from those of their counterparts in the US or in Britain. There is, therefore, an urgent need to investigate teachers' lives and experiences in other contexts, rather than articulating the lives of all teachers through Western lenses and universalising these, it is crucial to begin to find other variables based on the cultural settings of non-Western societies. These investigations will make a very considerable contribution to theoretical perspectives on teachers' lives and experiences, and teacher development.

It is against this background that I set out, therefore, to investigate black South African teachers' points of view. My concern was to understand what constituted professional development for black teachers who worked in an environment of socio-economic and educational deprivation, political violence, harassment and increasing poverty. I wanted to understand why they participated in professional development programmes imposed from the top and with what experiences they emerged. As a black South African teacher myself I realised that it was crucial to examine the notion of teacher development from a black perspective. Basically my questions were: What is the notion of teacher development for black teachers? What shapes and influences this notion?

From the findings of this study I hope to contribute to the growing literature both on teachers' lives and on teachers' professional development. In the light of the absence of black teachers' perceptions in the South African literature, I believe that such a study has a vital contribution to make in addressing this imbalance.

More importantly, I hope that this study will make a contribution to the process of educational transformation in South Africa, which essentially requires a new and democratic approach to research and knowledge construction. This approach as articulated in the RDP [1994] should be a people- driven process based on the experiences, perceptions and will of all.

## **Chapter Outline**

The study begins with a theoretical review in **Chapter One** of qualitative approach and a biographical method in educational research. The rationale for adopting these to investigate teachers' rationales, experiences and perceptions is outlined. Also described here is how the research was conducted over a period of three years, and how the data was analysed and presented. Chapters two and three set the context in which this study is located. **Chapter Two** examines the history and politics of pre-service education from 1841 to 1985. This analysis is crucial since it provides the necessary basis for understanding the philosophical and ideological tenets of teacher education in South Africa. These have a direct bearing on how teacher development is conceived by teachers, DET and NGOs. How teacher development is organised is a direct outgrowth of pre-service practices. Teachers' experiences cannot be fully articulated unless we have an understanding of how they were trained. Furthermore, teacher development takes place in a socio-historical, economic and



political context. These factors shape and influence the curriculum and its organisation. **Chapter Three** thus examines this context by delineating factors that spurred forward teacher development initiatives.

In order to understand the relationship between teacher education, teacher professional development and the social context, it is crucial to turn to theoretical perspectives. These are presented in **Chapter Four** which examines the dominant models and paradigms of teacher education and teacher development in an international context. The chapter assesses the epistemological assumptions underlying these paradigms and relates them to socio-political purposes. Also examined in this chapter is the concept of professionalism as it is applied to teaching. This is done in order to describe its uses in the South African context, and thus provides an understanding of how black teachers have been perceived and what the implications of this are in terms of professional development.

**Chapter Five** discusses teacher development practices in South Africa since the 1970s. It looks at both DET and NGO programmes with a view of delineating the dominant paradigm inherent in them. NGO programmes discussed here are ELTIC, SEP and TUP. This focus provides a particularly important backing to the study since the sample of teachers surveyed is drawn from these programmes. This discussion leads to **Chapter Six** which present teachers' rationales for participating in these programmes. This is followed by **Chapter Seven** which presents teachers' experiences and perceptions of professional development. **Chapter Eight** concludes the study by discussing its main findings. On the basis of the findings, it revisits theoretical perspectives with the aim of providing an alternative paradigm for teacher development in South Africa. Finally,

suggestions on how this paradigm could be a central dimension of teacher development policy in a New South Africa are outlined.

# **Chapter One**

**Methodological Issues:  
the application of the biographical method**

*As I got to know the singers, so I got to know and understand  
their songs more fully.* [Goodson, 1992]

## **Introduction**

This chapter discusses the research methodology adopted to collect data. It opens with a theoretical review of a qualitative approach and a biographical method. The rationale for employing these in this study is outlined. It examines the techniques used in the field, pinpointing limitations as well as advantages in the light of a socio-historical context. Also described here is the manner in which the data was analysed and presented throughout the thesis.

## **Theoretical considerations on a qualitative approach to research**

In order to explore teachers' rationales, perceptions and experiences of professional development, a qualitative style of inquiry offered a valuable approach for this study. Its naturalistic concern for social and cultural meanings of experiences provide an alternative framework for understanding the discourse of teacher development in South Africa. The research tradition in South Africa has been characterised by white domination and conservatism framed within the lenses of positivistic models of inquiry. Positivism takes a view that the social world can be investigated through the application of scientific methods. Social scientists who adopt the scientific approach to research human beings, insist that no knowledge beyond the data provided by science can be treated as valid. Positivist approaches have effectively divorced individuals from their social world. Within South Africa critical scholars [Jansen 1991a, Nkomo 1991, Welsh 1981] have argued that context-bound positivist approaches to

social research have promoted racial segregation and have served to defend the white-dominated social structure. These approaches, as the anonymous contributor to *Apartheid and Social Research*, argues:

*... reflect white entrepreneurial or white establishment interests. The subjects pursued show concern for problems which blacks do not find problematic, and an evasion of issues which constitute the problems from the black point of view and which in the final analysis are entrenched in the monopoly of the white power.* [Rex 1981:132]

Also critical of a positivist tradition in social research are feminist researchers [Oakley 1981, Scott 1985] who argue that the shortcomings of positivist approaches lie in their masculine orientation. Oakley [1981] in her study of motherhood, found that there is a misfit between the textbook 'recipes' for interviewing and her own experience as an interviewer. She accords this misfit to the specific values of masculinity such as objectivity, detachment, hierarchy and science inherent in these 'recipes'.

*It seems clear that both the psychoanalytic and mechanical typifications of the interviewer and, indeed, the entire paradigmatic representation of 'proper' interviews in the methodology textbooks, owe a great deal more to masculine social and sociological vantage points than to a feminine one.* [Oakley 1981:38]

Similarly, radical scholars in advanced industrial countries [Giroux 1988, Popkewitz 1981, Wexler 1982] argue that the positivist discourse depoliticised and simplified the socio-political structure, and, therefore, legitimated the status quo. They point out that the use of science methods in social research disguises the symbols of social domination. As Wexler [1982:277] puts it:

*In this culture, scientific knowledge resists social representation. The sociology of science avoids social translation of scientific knowledge. Sociologists of science analyse instead the social relations of science using the models of normative consensus, competition and social mobility.*

It is therefore apparent that the positivist approach would be unsuitable for a study that seeks to understand the 'hidden' perceptions and experiences of black teachers on their professional development. The relevance and suitability of qualitative inquiry stem from its potential to raise new questions, challenge assumptions and biases, make the phenomena complex rather than simple, expand the frame of reference and restore the '*moral discourse*' [Edson 1988].

First, in considering the issue of *raising new questions*, Edson [1988:45] argues that researchers undertake qualitative inquiry not so much from the recognition that they do not know all the answers to their problems but rather from an appreciation of the fact that they do not know all the questions. The import of this point can be illuminated in the South African education system. The system has been besieged by crises during white rule and the trend is continuing in the new South Africa. Such a scenario requires social scientists and educationists to search for new questions – specifically because quantitative approaches with their inherent values of objectivity, hierarchy and detachment have provided limited insights into the social world of schooling and teaching. In such a climate there is a need to pose new sets of questions about education, teaching and learning, the teaching culture and the professional development of teachers in black schools. Viewed from this angle, then, qualitative inquiry can:

*...serve to heighten our critical sensibilities and thereby help us to reformulate our problems in fresh and constructive ways.*

Kliebard and Franklin [1983:153]

Second, one of the hallmarks of qualitative inquiry is that it assists researchers to *challenge dominant assumptions and biases* in society. In South Africa there are dominant assumptions specifically about black

teachers. They are held by both black and white sectors of the population. For example, studies [Hofmeyer 1992, Raubenheimer 1992] of black teachers portrayed them as deficient and passive. In turn the black community perceived them as lazy. These assumptions and biases are usually supported by statistical evidence on teacher qualification. These have shown that black teachers have lower qualifications than their white counterparts [DET 1986, SAIRR 1983, EduSource 1990]. These surveys reinforced the notion that qualifications are a yardstick with which the quality of teachers can be measured. In the South African context the quality of teachers is usually mapped against qualifications rather than experience. Thus, dominant assumptions about black teachers are, among other socio-historical factors, inextricably linked to a quantitative survey.

Closely related to the above is the third hallmark of qualitative research, *making the phenomena complex*. Notions of passivity and deficiency are rarely problematised in South Africa. They become the taken-for-granted knowledge, thus becoming what Giroux [1988] calls a '*discourse of silence*'. Years of white domination in South Africa have presented a view that domination is total, and that the lived experiences of oppressed masses can be inferred automatically from structural determinations. For example, during the negotiations on the political settlement I was frequently asked by some people in Scotland, who were monitoring the event, as to where all these articulate black South African politicians came from? Such a question suggests that the socio-political context has been over-simplified and that, as Giroux [1988:205] noted:

*... human behaviour has been reduced to socio-economic and political determinants.*

Consequently, labels attached to black teachers are taken for granted and simplified or treated as factual knowledge. Lived cultures as Giroux [1988]



has argued, are characterised by contradictory forms of meanings and diverse responses and behaviours. Within this theoretical perspective of qualitative inquiry, the phenomenon is made complex. Complexity, rather than simplicity, describes life in both the past and the present [Edson 1988].

Fourth, qualitative research enables us to *expand the frame of reference*. In South Africa teacher development is seen through the lenses of skills acquisition [through pre-packaged curricular material] and qualification upgrading. Theories of teacher development take a competence-based model. The adoption of a qualitative approach in this study is motivated by the need to expand theoretical lenses on teacher professional development. In this sense, as Edson [1988:46] argues, qualitative inquiry:

*... is not merely a search for knowledge for knowledge's sake but a search for the significance of knowledge.*

Finally, the potential of qualitative research to *restore 'moral discourse'* has specific significance both in this study and for the South African educational context. South African critical writers [Jansen 1991, Nkomo 1991] have argued that the voices of the majority have been marginalised and have called for a transformation. Nkomo writes [1991:310]:

*The dominant epistemological tradition in South Africa at the present juncture is the culmination of a long process of rationalising power in the hands the of white minority by means of monopolising knowledge. But more insidious has been the effort to attribute the source of all knowledge to 'Western Man'. ... This form of exclusion and censorship is conducted despite claims of academic freedom and objectivity.*

Missing in South African education books are teachers' voices. Through a qualitative approach, in-depth understanding is cultivated which 'serves to condition the range and quality of human thought and



may help to restore moral dimensions [Edson 1988:45]. Giroux [1988:206] provides a broader socio-political significance of qualitative research in education:

*It should be conceived not merely as a pedagogical technique for confirming the experiences of those who are often silenced by the dominant culture of schooling, it is also part of the analysis that questions how power, dependence and social inequality structure the ideologies and practices that enable and limit individuals around the issues of class, race and gender.*

In summary, the significance of qualitative line of inquiry for this study lies in this approach's recognition of the complexity of life and the role of history, politics and power in society. These are crucial factors that make sense of private and public lives of individuals in society.

### **The relevance of a biographical method for the study**

Teachers' rationales, experiences and perceptions were investigated through a biographical method which was complemented by observation, conversations and interviews with key informants in the field of teacher development, and document analysis. I was drawn to the life history or biographical method not only by the richness of individual life histories, but also by its appropriateness for the purpose of exploring the experiences and perceptions of teachers at the time of unprecedented political developments since the famous Rivonia Trial of 1963.<sup>1</sup> Such developments had a direct impact on the education system, its policy and practice. In addition to the fascination of the historical timing, were unparalleled concerns about the education of black teachers, the momentum of the teacher development movement and the roles of teachers in legitimating and challenging the reform movement of the

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<sup>1</sup> In 1963 Mandela and his colleagues were sentenced to life imprisonment for 'sabotage and terrorism'.

1980s. In addition, the demise of apartheid symbolised by negotiations and democratic elections yielded insights to multi-faceted layers of struggle. With the advent of a new dispensation politically inactive communities, individuals and groups were mobilised. For instance, gay and lesbian rights movements emerged and the women's liberation movement intensified.

In black schools, teachers, who had never staged a strike over the past three decades, took to the streets demanding better working conditions, a living wage and democratic practices in education. Teacher action added a new dimension to the educational crises of the 1970s and 1980s. Teachers rather than students became more vocal and critical of both the apartheid and new government educational structures. It was apparent that dominant assumptions about teachers needed to be problematised. A biographical method offered a means of exploring three periods in teachers' personal and professional lives: the past [apartheid moment], the transitional [the negotiation/transition moment] and the future [post-apartheid moment]. The application of a biographical method in this study is therefore well placed to articulate teachers' experiences and perceptions over a historical period. As Bogdan [1974:4] points out:

*... it allows us to see an individual in relation to the history of his/her time and how he/she is influenced by the various religious, social, psychological and economic currents present in his/her world.*

Before I outline how the method was applied in the field, I will first discuss its theoretical perspectives in sociological and educational research with a view to locating its relevance for this study.

## Biographical method: An overview

The heyday of the life history or biographical method in social research was the 1920s and 1930s, and it has only been recently revived as a potentially useful method of social inquiry [Bertaux 1981, Faraday and Plummer, 1979] and educational [Goodson 1981, 1985, Goodson and Walker 1988, Ball and Goodson 1985] research. Life histories were developed and utilised by the Chicago School of Sociology. Despite their decline after the Second World War disciplines such as anthropology and psychology [in particular] have continued to use life histories as a research tool. The decline of life histories has been attributed to the ascendancy of science as well as to the development of sociology into a fully-fledged academic discipline [Goodson 1981]. Becker [1970:72] notes that as sociology evolved as an academic discipline, sociologists came to pursue:

*... data formulated in the abstract categories of their own theories rather than in the categories that seemed most relevant to the people they studied.*

Becker [1978:289] describes life history as follows:

*The life history method is not conventional social science 'data' although it has some of the features of that kind of fact, being an attempt to gather material useful in the formulation of the general sociological theory. Nor is it a conversational autobiography, although it shares with autobiography its narrative form, its first person point of view and its frankly subjective stance. It is certainly not fiction, although the best life history documents have a sensitivity and pace, a dramatic agency, that any novelist would be glad to achieve.*

Denzin [1978:285-6] then, outlines the basic aim of life history. He writes:

*The basic theme of any life history is the construction of a set of explanations that reflect one person's or one group's subjective experiences towards a predefined set of events. Their world must be penetrated, compared and understood. Once the world is entered, the observer lays out the critical, objective experiences relevant to that world and allows the subject to react to those events. In this way the subject's definition of the situation is*

*compared with the objective events. In addition, the perspectives of other persons involved in those events will also be recorded. By fitting these different perspectives together, the investigator develops a comprehensive and comparative explanation of how the subject's experiences reflect variations in the social situation. To be sociologically acceptable, the life history has to move from such individual interpretation to social structure.*

Elsewhere Becker [1966] outlines the appropriateness of life history for sociological researchers stating that it is more fitted to the purposes of the researcher:

*The sociologist keeps the subjects oriented to the questions sociology is interested in, asks them about the events that require amplification. The researcher also uses official records and with material furnished by others familiar with the person, event, or place being described.* [Becker 1966:v-iv]

This suggests that a life history method does not rely entirely on the subjects' descriptions of reality, but also makes use of other sources. Exclusive reliance on life histories may not only bias or distort the researchers' picture of the particular slice of reality he/she is investigating. It may also provide a limited view of the complexity of human behaviour and of the context in which subjects interact. Researchers who have used life history as a research tool tend to use more than one method to collect data. This is referred to as '*methodological triangulation*' [Denzin 1978] Because of triangulation involved, advocates of the life history method have emphasised that it is not a new research tool that can be used on its own, but rather a complementary one which addresses areas such as history and biography which have been neglected by ethnographic studies [Wood 1985, Goodson 1981].

These theoretical considerations, then, were taken into account in this study. The first part of this study outlines the 'objective reality' in which teachers' experiences and responses are cast; it then examines the

historical development of teacher education, the socio-historical and political context in which education is cast and the nature and form of the teacher development movement. The history of teacher education is critically analysed as an event which not only shaped and influenced teachers' experiences and perceptions, but also because it was used by dominant groups in society to create a particular understanding of teachers as a group, their status in the community and their professional development. Equally examined are the socio-historical, political and economic events which spurred forward educational reforms and teacher development activity.

Second, in considering the perspectives of others, I consulted official documents produced by DET and one of my key informants came from the Education Department. In addition, I conducted an extensive analysis of documents produced by NGOs teacher development programmes [SEP, ELTIC, TUP and Anglovaal]. This analysis was complemented by semi-structured and informal interviews with programme staff [directors, co-ordinators, field-workers and tutors]. Furthermore, informal conversations with school principals, students, parents and community leaders enriched the comparative analysis in this study [see Appendix 1A: Names of other interviewees and key informants]. I also participated in conferences organised by the NGOs on various issues, [e.g. language policy]. Of these conferences, the conference organised by the Abel Project and the University of the Witwatersrand on 'effective schools in South Africa' [21/11/92] yielded most insights into teachers' perceptions and experiences. It was the first conference of its kind in South Africa where black teachers presented their experiences on teaching in a violence-ridden



context. What emerged in that conference questioned prevailing assumptions on teacher deficit and passivity:

*[Teachers] adapt their conventional wisdom about what is effective schooling in order to cope with the realities with which they are confronted. Teachers from Prudence Secondary are soliciting psychological and welfare services to cope with traumatised teachers and students, while teachers from Qhakaza and Rolihlahla are experimenting on democratising school management structures and curricula innovations.*

[Carrim 1992:19]

Finally, Campbell [1988:72] writes that:

*... in order to get the bearing of others, one must have more than one reference point including one's own.*

As a black South African woman and a former teacher, I entered the field with the advantage of an inner understanding of 'myths', folklore, local history and culture. Feminist research conducted by women points to the advantage of familiarity with the subjects' experiences [Oakley 1981, Finch 1993]. While this has advantages there are also risks involved. Other crucial definitions provided by the subjects [because of familiarity with the culture and issues] may be taken for granted while they need further pursuit. For example, when I asked teachers about the nature of the relationship that exists between teachers and the principal, a typical response from teachers was: '*you know as a former teacher they [principals] are bossy*'. When I asked what they meant by that, they tended to look at me with amazement that I wanted them to expatiate on a 'known fact'. The continuous analysis of data in the field allowed me to identify themes or responses that needed clarification or expansion. In addition, extensive theoretical readings enabled me to exercise objectivity in such cases.

Through these measures I was able to use a biographical method with other research techniques. These techniques as well as the

background I had provided a broader insights into teachers' rationales, experiences and perceptions.

## **Biographical method and educational research**

Advocates of biographical method in educational research [Ball & Goodson 1985, Woods 1985, Edson 1988, Beynon 1985] have pointed to the weakness of ethnographic studies in the study of schooling. Like sociologists, they argue that history and biography are marginalised in favour of inferred interpretations. Goodson's [1981:67] review of classroom ethnographic studies points out that due to intense focus on situation and occasion little attention is paid to the person who is teaching, while researchers such as Hargreaves [1976] and Wood [1980] have acknowledged that teachers import biographical data into their practices. Goodson [1981:67-8] writes:

*Jackson's work on Life in Classrooms although full of insight, presents teachers as a particular kind of species: reproducing within busy, tiring and unchanging environments. ... Hargreaves' excellent study, Deviance in Classrooms, although marked by the eclecticism of the approach, nevertheless misses many opportunities to follow up biographical data. Similarly, the new strategies miss this dimension.*

Like Denzin [1978], Goodson in his criticism of ethnographic studies does not advocate for their replacement by life histories but suggests that the latter should be a natural extension of the former. The latter captures the historic and subjective depth of approaches that suffer from rootedness to situations and large inferences about people's constructions of meaning.

In South Africa studies on schooling and educational practices, particularly those undertaken within a Marxist and liberal framework of analysis, embraced a historical element in their explanations. Essays in Kallaway [1984] treat the socio-historical context as a factor that determines

teachers', students' and educationists' actions. What is striking in these essays is the correspondence approach adopted to critique educational practices in South Africa. The emphasis of these essays is on class analysis and structural constraints of apartheid which are seen as '*fixed and fast frozen*' [Apple 1989]. As a consequence, the experiences and actions of black South Africans are presented. In Goodson's [1981:65] words:

*... as a somewhat monolithic 'structural or cultural legacy' which constrains their potentials in rather a disconnected manner.*

The determinist models fail to make connections between the culture, the social structure and individual lives. While these essays [Kallaway 1984] have contributed to the debate about schooling in South Africa, they nevertheless suffer from excessive abstract analysis and marginalisation of biographical data.

On the other hand, the liberal studies approach examine schooling in '*pedestrian like style*' [Jansen 1988]. What this means is that the classroom and the teacher are presented as unchanging, operating in a familiar environment of cultural deprivation [Hartshorne 1992, Gray 1990, Walker 1988, 1991]. In a climate of compelling cultural legacy of deprivation in South Africa, we are forced, as Dollard [1949:5] noted:

*... [to] experience the person as a fragment of a [derived] cultural pattern, as a marionette dancing on the string of [reified] cultural forms.*

Outside South Africa a range of educational studies embracing historical and biographical data have proliferated. This data has been collected not only to sponsor hitherto silenced voices [women, teachers and minority groups] but also to link curriculum changes, institutional practices, pedagogical styles, teacher development, to mention a few, to biography. Goodson's [1981] study used life histories to trace the reasons behind the promotion of a new school subject – Environmental Studies.



The study concludes that the life histories of major participants in the promotion of Environmental Studies constituted the life history of the subject. Research by Raymond *et al* [1992] utilised teachers' autobiographies to understand the nature of teachers' knowledge and development. The findings of the study underline the significance of childhood experiences as having a profound influence on who they are and who they become as teachers, thus outlining a path of individualised professional development. Smith *et al* [1985] draw on life histories to investigate educational innovation in an institution, Kensington School, as well as its impact on individual lives. Sikes [1985] investigated the life cycle of the teacher through the life history method.

This small number of studies points not only to the many uses of life histories to investigate a wide range of issues which for so long have remained on the periphery of educational research: more important perhaps is that they have re-asserted human agency in the study of schooling. These studies have replaced deterministic accounts which see human beings as shaped by the economic substructure of society. And there is now a potential for grasping the dialectical relationship between individuals and their socio-political and historic contexts.

It is apparent, then, that life histories of individuals have more to offer than just being 'novels'. They sensitise us to the daily assumptions we attach to reality. Through an in-depth exploration of subjects' realities, interpretations and cultural meanings, an alternative explanation is offered which allows us to '*expose the hidden controls over human action*' [Armstrong 1987:20].

## Limitations and problems

Like all research methods a biographical approach has its limitations and problems with respect to validity and reliability. The problem arises when the research focuses on the life story of a single individual, which is a typical form of biography; an intensive, comprehensive narrative of one person's story. Methodological concern with a single life story is that it carries the risk of generalising from a single case study which may well not be as 'typical'. As Campbell [1988:62] points out:

*... the unique combination of biographical experience for each individual makes it difficult to formulate rules of human understanding.*

This limitation may be overcome by collecting multiple biographies. Through the elicitation of dominant categories or themes in a multiple-method research approach, it is possible to generalise by pinpointing some essential common elements. Since a single case study could not be representative of all black teachers it was necessary to adopt a multiple approach for both methodological and socio-historical reasons. The former addressed validity and generalisation concerns, the latter diverse cultural, political and educational experiences.

## Data collection

Category	Profile	Male	Female	Total	%
Age	21 – 30	4	2	6	10
	31 – 40	10	21	31	52
	41 – 50	5	10	15	25
	51 – 60	3	5	8	13
	<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

<b>Qualifications</b>	Degree + Training	11	10	21	35
	Std 10 + PTC	2	18	20	33
	Std 10 + STD	9	10	19	32
	<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

<b>Teaching Experience</b>	1 - 5	3	4	7	12
	6 - 10	5	7	12	20
	11 - 15	4	10	14	23
	16 - 20	6	10	16	27
	21 - 25	2	6	8	13
	26+	2	1	3	5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

<b>School Level</b>	Primary	4	21	25	42
	High School	18	17	37	58
	<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

<b>Other Professional Development Courses</b>	Vista University	17	35	52	87
	Others	5	3	8	13
	<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

\* Durban Westville, Natal, Rand Afrikaans, UNISA and Wits

NOTE: Male Teachers: 22 PTC: Primary Teachers' Certificate  
 Female Teachers: 38 STD: Secondary Teachers' Diploma  
 Total 60

**Table 1: A profile of teachers interviewed**

## Sampling and access

The data reported in this study was collected between 1992 and 1995. In all, sixty teachers were involved in this research, twenty-two male and thirty-eight female [see Table 1: the profile of teachers interviewed].

Access to teachers was gained through teacher development projects. These programmes were the SEP, the ELTIC and the TUP. In each project twenty teachers were selected. In SEP and ELTIC the teachers were divided equally between male and female. This was not the case with TUP; eighteen female and two male were interviewed. A majority of TUP teachers came from primary schools and were female. There are more female teachers employed in primary schools [see Appendix 1B: School staff by rank and gender].

Before leaving Britain to conduct field work in South Africa I wrote to the projects mentioned, requesting access to teachers involved in the programme. I received their enthusiastic permission.

These projects were selected on the basis that they represented a common trend of teacher professional development activity taking place in South Africa. These trends are: [1] knowledge and skill upgrading in science, mathematics and English language teaching, and [2] qualification upgrading. Secondly, it was easier to have access to teachers via the projects as the schools were in disarray, with teachers on a 'chalk down'<sup>2</sup> campaign.

Thirdly, in July 1992 when I began field work a spate of killings in the townships, commuter trains, taxi and bus stations were at their peak. A massacre of thirty four people including a six months old baby at Boipatong, a squatter settlement outside the east of Johannesburg, forced

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<sup>2</sup> This was the slogan for teachers' strike over pay and condition of service.

the ANC [the main party] to pull out of the negotiations. Indeed, some parts of South Africa became a no man's land with gunfire raging throughout the day. People, as one Soweto resident, commented:

*... do not trust each other anymore, the spirit of solidarity has been sent to the Avalon [a cemetery outside Soweto] to rest.*

[Field notes, 03/07/92].

The Political violence in KwaZulu Natal added to my difficulties. I was scared to be labelled ANC in this region as I was a Johannesburger with a different accent.

Furthermore, a crime wave gripped the country. Car hijacking became a norm. It did not matter whether it was during the day in the full gaze of bystanders, when the 'guys' wanted your car nothing could stop them. I soon realised that when the car I hired to move around in was taken at gun-point in Soweto on my way to an interview appointment at Funda Centre, an adult education centre [Field notes 17/11/92]. It was apparent that trying to locate teachers in schools was not only futile but a dangerous exercise too.

Fourth, teachers who were involved with the projects came from many different schools which would have been not feasible if I had had to go through schools or the department to obtain access to teachers. Teachers involved in this study represent thirty-two schools in Johannesburg; twenty primary and twelve high schools. In Durban sixteen high schools are represented.<sup>3</sup> [see Appendix 1C (i) (ii) (iii): The names of teachers interviewed and the schools they represent]. This was much wider and effective in terms of cost and time. Another advantage was that these teachers were also involved in degree or diploma courses offered by Vista university under the DET programme. This enabled me to investigate

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<sup>3</sup> Durban teachers were all from the SEP project which focuses on high schools only.

both DET and NGO programmes. Thus the phenomenon of teacher professional development was examined in all its facets.<sup>4</sup>

The names and personal profiles of teachers were obtained from the central offices of these projects. The criteria for selecting teachers to be interviewed were age, teaching experience, qualification and time spent with the project. It was important to have teachers of all ages in a spectrum of 21-60 years. Teachers' perceptions and experiences differ with age. Various studies [Sikes 1985, Oja 1989, Newsman *et al* 1980] suggest that different perceptions, experiences, expectations, concerns and professional development among teachers are inextricably linked to age. A study by Sebakwana [1992] found that age differences among the teachers she studied was sometimes a source of tension. Younger teachers were accused by older teachers of being too moderate with students.<sup>5</sup> My own observation confirms Sebakwana's finding. For example, younger teachers called older teachers '*magogos*' [grannies]. They criticised the teaching methods of the '*magogos*' pointing out that they produced students who memorise everything.

Teaching experience in South Africa does not only tell in numeric terms the years a teacher has spent in the classroom, it also tells a tale of changes in the education system, contradictions and conflict in teachers perceptions, stages of activism in teachers' careers. Teachers with extensive teaching experience provide rich data if one wishes to understand the history of teaching and the teaching culture. On the other

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<sup>4</sup> Other teachers attended courses at Natal, Durban Westville, RAU, Wits and UNISA.

<sup>5</sup> In South Africa tensions are not necessarily attributed to age, but may be caused by political ideologies. Younger teachers are politically active because they have gone through the most oppressive years of white domination.

hand, teachers with relatively little experience can alert us to their expectations, concerns, and professional development needs.

Each project operated in more than one region and I had to select a region in which to interview teachers. Because of time constraints and the dangers of travelling as a lone woman researcher in South Africa, it was not possible to interview teachers in other regions. For SEP which has 12 regions throughout the country I chose the KwaZulu Natal region and I focused on teachers from the city of Durban. For TUP and ELTIC, Johannesburg was chosen. Choosing two regions rather than concentrating on one was necessitated by the following:

- [i] The history of teacher education shows that the quality of the teaching corps has been shaped, among other influences, by specific missionaries' policies and practices, together with ideological, religious and educational orientations. For example, teachers who have been trained through missionary institutions such as Marianhill and Kilnerton have their teaching and educational outlook shaped by the institution concerned. Thus, where and how teachers were trained influence their perceptions and practice. This is reflected in Mr Magubane 's comment on the quality of students produced at Margot Fonteyn Secondary School in Pinetown:

*CM: How do you view your contribution to the development of black education?*

*M: Over the past fifteen years, being a principal of this school, I've set the Marianhill standards, that a teacher must be dedicated to his work and the student to his books. Discipline is the core curriculum at Marianhill, everything eh ... come second. My students have ended up in good careers, nursing, the majority in teaching, others are doctors, and some are lawyers .*

- [ii] School boycotts which constitute much of South African black educational crisis did not affect teachers in the same manner, hence



their responses and experiences are diverse. For teachers in Soweto for example, the 1976 Soweto School Uprising comprises a hallmark of their professional experiences. As this teacher from Soweto commented:

CM: what was the most 'critical' incident in your teaching career?

*V: you know Cecilia, 1976 change everything for the teachers ... After the riots, you entered the classroom as a different teacher, students were different, and your approach had to be different. That's the time when we dumped consciously all the teacher training theories, you were left with nothing to justify your old style teaching. Damn, it was hell on earth. But we had to move on.*

[iii] Similarly, regional differences and the nature of power structures in each area yield different perspective and experiences. The outlook of teachers in Durban is partly influenced by the politics of the region. I recorded this observation on a visit to Margot Fonteyn School when I was invited to sit on a meeting called to update teachers on the preparation for the launch of SADTU in Pinetown:

*Mr Ngcwabaza, [an activist teacher has spent six months in prison during the 1980s] is briefing the meeting on the outcome of the last regional meeting. Teachers are seated in some disinterested manner, time and again looking at their clocks. Ngcwabaza asked for comments from the floor. He then gives dates for the coming regional meetings and urges teachers to attend, Mr Mtwa [a young teacher and former graduate of this school] intervenes, asking if the issue of women's representation has been taken into account by the SADTU executive and what measures are being taken to protect teachers who might be victimised by principals who support Inkatha. Ngcwabaza responds to these questions, with Mr Mtwa asking for further clarification on emerging issues. The meeting turned into a dialogue between the two teachers.*

**My comment:** *Teachers' silence is a sign of fear, and a reluctance to be seen to be supporting a union that has embraced the ANC-COSATU philosophy. In Durban, unlike Johannesburg, people live communally. A teacher is intimately linked to the community and accountable to it. Thus, their political views, if*



*known in the school, will by all means be public knowledge, and a danger. Teachers here live by the rules of the game: 'silence is golden'*  
[Field notes 02/10/92]

## **Techniques for gathering data**

### **Documentary analysis and observation**

Before interviewing teachers I embarked on the documentary analysis of each project. This included a review of annual reports, research done on the project either for evaluation or academic purposes, policy statements, internal memos, and press statements. Also analysed were government publications on teacher development as well as academic papers on the same subject. Observation, as mentioned earlier, included attendance at conferences on teacher development as well as those organised by the projects, SEP and ELTIC in particular. I also attended training sessions organised by SEP for teachers and implementers. Within the ELTIC, I also sat in co-ordinators' meetings organised by teachers. Twelve [20%] teachers invited me to their schools, where I had informal conversations with their colleagues, and sat in on staff meetings as well as in the staffroom, where I was able to understand the institutional culture of teaching and how it shapes the teachers' responses.

### **Interviewing teachers**

Measor [1985:57] points out that the quality of the data is dependent on the quality of the relationship you build with the interviewees. Interviewing in life history requires an intensive affective relationship. As Catani [1981:212] puts it:

*[The life history] recounts the development of an intensive affective relationship whose exchange exists on a purely oral basis...The history thus deals with the culmination and resolution of an encounter between two persons who develop a mutual confidence and each of whom manages to integrate the other's affective presents into his [her] daily life.*

Feminist researchers [Oakley 1981, Sebakwana 1992, Finch 1993] argue that in interviewing women they did not have to work hard to build a rapport as normally suggested by research methodology textbooks. Women, they contend:

*... are almost always enthusiastic about talking to a woman researcher even if they have some initial anxieties about the purpose of the research or their own 'performance' in the interview.*  
[Finch 1993:167]

In interviewing black teachers both male and female as a black South African, I experienced a similar situation. I did not need to work hard to develop mutual trust and confidence with teachers. Perhaps this can be attributed to the political climate, my identity and the approaches I adopted. First, there are few black researchers in South Africa, particularly those who are interested in the lives and experiences and perceptions of black teachers. Being a teacher myself, teachers felt comfortable in sharing their personal professional history with an 'insider'. Teachers talked to me as another teacher rather than as a researcher [a label which may denote notions of superiority]. Second, the timing of the research took place at the demise of apartheid and the dawn of a new era which permitted freedom of speech. During the years of apartheid, teachers were reluctant to talk about their experiences, they feared for their jobs [Hartshorne 1992]. Third, when I entered teachers' lives, I was already sensitised to the research tradition in South Africa which is based on what Reinhartz [1979:83] calls a 'rape model':

*The researchers take, hit and run. They intrude into their subjects' privacy, disrupt their perceptions, utilise false pretences, manipulate the relationship and give little or nothing in return. When the needs of the researcher are satisfied, they break off contact with the subject.*

In addition, insights from critical perspectives and feminist theory allowed me to adopt a 'non-hierarchical and non authoritarian and non manipulative' relationship with the teachers. And, finally, the research gave teachers an opportunity to reflect on their professional lives, an exercise they rarely engaged in, in a systematic manner. After the second leg of interviews teachers from the SEP project organised a farewell party for me. Nomaswazi pointed out:

*... over the past two months, we teachers from SEP, Jesus blessed us with someone to be.... ehh ... among us so we can learn something about ourselves .* [Field notes: 24/10/92]

Parker, a teacher from ELTIC when asked about his mentors, replied:

*This is a difficult question because no-one has asked me that before. Give me a minute to think. I have to look back on my life in depth now. By the end of this research I will have discovered many things about myself, I think my wife will also be surprised [laughing and shaking his head].*

All interviews conducted with teachers were tape-recorded. Before meeting a teacher for interview I sent to him/her a short questionnaire on personal and professional data [see Appendix 1D: Preliminary questionnaire]. Professional data concentrated on qualification, teaching experience, location of the school and professional development agenda, while personal data focused on age. This data introduced me to the teacher beforehand. It also allowed me to select appropriate clothing. Measor [1985] in her study observed that appearance does impact on the data. Older teachers tend to respect you when you dress presentably and this affects not only the quality of data but also the relationship you develop during research. In South Africa both the young and old teachers have particular 'myths' about people who have been overseas. These 'myths' centred around appearance and behaviour. You are expected to dress in expensive clothes and talk with the Queen's accent. This is due to the state

propaganda on western countries, which is normally presented in American soaps like Dallas and Dynasty. Like Measor, I had to look at my best in a classic, office-like outfit, despite the scorching heat, something I rarely do when I am in Edinburgh.

Secondly, I was sensitised to issues that were worth avoiding in my first interview with the teacher. For example, in the questionnaire I asked about the school and its location as well as type [e.g. primary, secondary or high school]. This question sensitised me to the issues of union membership as well as the political affiliations of individual teachers. I would avoid bringing this up on a first interview, particularly with teachers who teach in Inkatha-controlled areas. Teachers' unions in South Africa are aligned to particular political organisations which at that time were involved in full-blown civil war. This is illustrated by the experience I had with a teacher I knew very well. We had a good working relationship when I was the assistant co-ordinator of TUP. She was the main link between the schools and the project in Soweto as she was in the principals' committee of ATASA. I therefore anticipated that the interview was going to be smooth, but it emerged that I was taking things for granted:

*CM: [attempting to break the ice] I'm told you left teaching some months ago to be with the Molteno project, congratulations on your new post.*

*T: Ja, man, I had to live, because I could not be told by irresponsible individuals who are in SADTU what should I do, and when to teach and your friend<sup>6</sup> is a big shot now, driving a*

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<sup>6</sup> Referring to a teacher who was expelled by DET after 1976 for allegedly recruiting teachers to join NEUSA. In 1986 I invited this teacher to address teachers in the project on the state of education and the action teachers should take. NEUSA and ATASA were rival unions. ATASA was recognised by DET, while NEUSA was not and teachers who belonged to NEUSA were victimised by DET.

*huge BMW. That's what they do these people. I can't stand them so I quit. You go an tell him I said so.* [interviewed 10/10/92]

The first interview with each teacher lasted between one and two hours. These interviews took place at the homes of the teachers.<sup>7</sup> The pattern changed during the second and third phases of interviewing; the majority of interviews, [42, 70% of the total] took place in schools. In other cases teachers would offer to come to my flat to continue the interview.

Before starting an interview I would break the ice by commenting either on the beautiful curtains [at the time of the research a fashionable grand style of curtains called Voile were a feature of every household in townships]. With male teachers the comment would be on cars and football. In each case I would pick up something to comment on that would warm up to an interview.

As I have indicated earlier, I had little difficulty in establishing a good rapport with teachers. However, I had to work on strategies for retaining critical awareness. Critical awareness as Measor [1985:63] explains:

*... involves entering another person's world and their perspectives, but remaining alert to its configurations at the same time.*

However, as Measor acknowledges, there is a contradiction in aiming for harmonious relationships with teachers and yet treating their accounts '*both critically and sociologically*'. One way of addressing this dilemma in my study was to [1] transcribe the interview on the same day and send it to the teacher and request a second interview, and [2] to pick up issues that

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<sup>7</sup> SACHED's assistant director offered me an office where I could conduct interviews with teachers. While this was a hospitable gesture, it soon became a liability for the research. All teachers work in the townships and they rarely come to town after school, a factor aggravated by the killing of commuters at the time. I felt it was asking too much of the teachers. I then abandoned the idea of conducting interviews in the offices of the projects and set out to meet teachers at their homes.



are taken for granted by many teachers I interviewed [for example, the superiority of white education] and to [3] elicit contradictions in teachers' responses. The latter presented some difficulties since it had the potential of breaking the relationship I had built-up with the teachers. For instance, I was sensitive not to interfere in this teacher's comment:

*Teachers ought to upgrade in subject they are teaching. They must also understand the society we live in. It is changing fast. Some teachers disappoint me; they go and upgrade in courses like Sociology and even getting honours in such subject. What are they doing with such subject in this environment?*

Follow-up interviews were conducted after the transcript of the first interview was in the hands of the teachers. These interviews lasted between 20 and 30 minutes. In some cases, particularly with teachers in Durban, second interviews developed into long conversations. On more than one occasion I was invited to stay the night as it was not safe to drive after 8pm. This provided me with far richer data than anticipated. The atmosphere here was especially relaxed, and teachers became themselves.

### **Interviewing other informants**

Interviews with project directors, tutors, implementers, managers and other key informants took place before, in-between [in some cases] and after interviews with the teachers. This was a cross-referencing exercise which was meant to address validation and reliability. Life histories, as has been indicated, require a researcher to have more than one source of information. These interviews were adding more jigsaw pieces to the depiction of teacher development. As mentioned earlier, they provided themes that were less likely to emerge in interviews with teachers, due perhaps to limited exposure to the projects' internal documents.

## Data analysis and presentation

Organising and analysing qualitative data can be a difficult exercise. In this study, this was exacerbated by the volume of data gathered as well as transcribing data that needed translation. Most teachers' preferred to respond in their first language, that is either Zulu or Sotho. Certain strategies were applied to make the task easier. First, tapes were transcribed immediately after the interview. Second, teachers' responses were listed for each question and read several times and grouped with like responses [see Appendix 1E: Questions used throughout interviews with teachers]. Some categories were developed from actual responses. For example, if a teacher said, *'I upgrade to get a good salary'*, 'salary' became a category. Other categories emerged from document analysis, observations and informal interviews with other respondents mentioned. These categories were analysed separately and in relation to teachers' responses. For example, in analysing documents, and conducting informal interviews, I coded a theme 'competing paradigms in teacher development'. Projects were caught in an ideological minefield of approaches to teacher development. In SEP this was signified by the closure of the Soweto programme. This was due to staff members articulating different perspectives on teacher development. Others favoured a transformative approach with teachers taking charge of the project's activity, while others took a top-down competence-based approach to development. Within TUP the competing paradigm was reflected in the tutors' handbook which states that tutors should strive to use critical approaches to teaching and learning; this in turn will expose teachers to these methods. It was hoped that the teachers will take these methods and use them in their



classrooms. Tutors interviewed said that the statement was ambitious. One comment illustrates this vividly:

*Mr Kerogilwe: this was not possible, since teachers were keen to get their Standard Ten certificates, that what they came to SACHED for, not for SACHED to tell them how to teach ... after all this whole notion was an American romantic view of ideal education for black teachers.<sup>8</sup>*

As for ELTIC, the tension was between a rural co-ordinator who espoused adult education approaches to teacher development, while other staff members were keen to develop linguistic competencies among teachers. She [the rural co-ordinator] commented:

*I don't think they like me here, there is no appreciation of what I've done. They think I'm pushing the element of adult education and sabotaging language teaching.*

[Interviewed 02/11/92]

Later on the same day, her colleague commented on the rural co-ordinator's attitude:

*She has done fokol [nothing] to help those teachers in rural areas, they came to this project to improve their language teaching skills, she pumps them with adult learning theories ... You know she is doing a course at Wits in adult education. I think she wants material for her course ... believe me not, I would happy to see her go.*

The theme [competing paradigms] was further developed with teachers. It illuminated the paradoxes and the contradictions inherent in teacher development programmes in South Africa.

Presentation of this data is in four parts. Part one consists of two chapters [Chapters Two and Three]. Through a literature review the history and politics of teacher education and development is examined.

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<sup>8</sup> The tutors' handbook was written by Maggie Kegan, who is American and co-ordinated the project for a year in 1987. Tutors disliked her over-confident approach to teacher development.

These are located within the socio-political context, and are supported by the biographically based research. Part II consist of Chapter Four which delineates, through theoretical perspectives, a dialectical relationship between social structure and the education of teachers and generates a discussion of teacher professionalism; and teacher professional development practices in an international context. Teacher development practices in South Africa, and the rationales, experiences and perceptions of teachers are presented in Part III which consist of Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Finally, Part IV which consist of Chapter Eight concludes the study by discussing its main findings. It revisits theoretical perspectives and an alternative paradigm of teacher development is presented. Suggestions on how this paradigm can be integrated into teacher development policy in a new South Africa are outlined.

## **Chapter Two**

### **The History and Politics of Pre-service Education**

*We were not being equipped enough to do the kind of job we were required to do. Even when I completed my teacher's diploma I wasn't quite proud. My family wanted me to throw a party, I felt it was something not worth a party.*

[Matomi, a teacher from Soweto]

## Introduction

To understand the discourse of teacher professional development in South Africa, it is crucial to analyse the history and politics of pre-service education. Teachers' choice of a professional development programme is partly influenced by their initial training experiences. A frequently invoked rationale for taking part in a teacher development programme of their choice is that their pre-service training did not prepare them for the realities of teaching in South African townships. Similarly, DET's and NGO's debate over teacher development for black teachers is partly shaped by the history of pre-service training. Their adoption and implementation of certain models of professional development is a reflection of what went on at teacher training colleges. Thus, pre-service training is one of the factors which mould perspectives, definitions and approaches to teacher professional development.

This chapter therefore examines the development of pre-service education since 1814 when the first government grant was given to Lovedale, the first teacher training college in South Africa.<sup>9</sup> This will enable both an understanding of teachers' rationales and DET and NGO approaches to in-service education and the delineation of socio-economic,

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<sup>10</sup> Lovedale trained both black and white teachers. This was discontinued when the colonial government in 1892 refused to register white teachers for examination if they were trained alongside with black teachers. It was run by the Glasgow Missionary Society.

cultural and political components that had a bearing on the content and philosophical underpinnings of teacher education. In addition, similarities and differences between historical epochs will be drawn to show educational continuities and the implications of these for teacher development.<sup>10</sup> These historical epochs are:

- [1] the colonial period (1652-1910) when South Africa had four self-governing provinces. Cape Town and Natal were the British colonies and Orange Free State and Transvaal were controlled by the Afrikaners, the descendants of the Dutch;
- [2] the unification of the four provinces (1910-1948); and
- [3] the apartheid era (1948-1994) when the political changes over time had had an effect on the content, financing and administration of pre-service education.

### **Teacher training during the colonial era: 1841-1910**

Nineteenth century South Africa was characterised by imperial expansion; black resistance; intense missionary activity; the transformation of South Africa's economy as a result of the discovery of gold and diamonds; and white internecine conflict [culminating in the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War]. The interaction of these historical events:

*... produced a power dynamic which led to a particular distribution of resources and ideas.* [Jansen 1990b:196]

This dynamic shaped and influenced the nature and form of black schooling and the preparation of its teaching corps.

From the literature review there are four factors which illuminate dominant assumptions about the training of black teachers and the quality

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<sup>10</sup> Educational continuity is used in this study to refer to the relative stability of stated and unstated purposes of teacher education since the colonial era as they are reflected in the curriculum, syllabuses and overall administration of teacher education.

of pre-service education. These factors are set out as follows: [1] missionary rivalry; [2] denominational concerns versus educational matters; [3] conflicting interests between the governments and missionaries; [4] rapid industrialisation and the dislocation of indigenous social structures. A summary of these factors is illustrated in Fig 2A.

### **[1] missionary rivalry**

By the end of the nineteenth century there were more missionaries in South Africa than anywhere else in the world [Christie 1985:65]. They came from different parts of Europe as well as America, representing different European cultures and denominations. In addition, new missionaries emerged who were not denominationally affiliated. Some had specific doctrines and practices about missionary status, expectations and modes of life [Walls 1982:161]. Others dissented from the original ethos of former missionaries or from their ecclesiological presuppositions.

The views of these missionaries on what constituted Christianity were sometimes poles apart or in conflict with each other. This was so because missionaries were part of the imperial wave which was embedded in European wars, nation state revolutions and ideological transformations. Denominational ideologies and practices were conditioned and derived from these. As such, the scramble for black souls was marked by rivalry. In this context education became the single most item of operation and a terrain where this rivalry took place. Through education, missionaries were able to convert 'heathens'. In order to reach as many 'heathens' as possible, the training of black teachers was vital. The expansion and the future of each missionary depended on black teachers. Molteno [1984:50] emphasised this point:

*Steeped in the conquerors' ways of seeing, converted to their religion, and generally accepting of the new order, the schooled corps could help disseminate a system of ideas, values, loyalties and authorities which were consistent with the colonists' interests and which contradicted, and helped undermine the framework that had given the people an independent ideological base in their struggle to retain their land and livelihood*

The consequence of this competition was the setting up of many elementary schools close to each other, resulting in the neglect of other areas. The concentration of mission schools in one area led to unequal educational development between and within provinces. Mission stations were widespread in urbanised parts of Cape Town and Natal while Transvaal and Orange Free State were left impoverished. A similar practice took place in Nigeria during this period. Bassey's [1991] examination of uneven educational development in the north and south of Nigeria shows that unparalleled expansion in the south was actually the accidental outcome of missionary rivalry rather than the result of an altruistic policy to provide expanded educational opportunities for the African populace.

However, the growth of elementary schooling was incompatible with the number of teacher training institutions. There were more elementary schools than training colleges. To rescue the situation, teacher training courses were shortened and emphasis was placed on classroom management and elementary reading. In addition, a pupil-teacher scheme was introduced. Pupils who were a step ahead of their counterparts were recruited into teaching. The race to reach black souls within a short space of time resulted in the 'mass production' of poorly qualified teachers.

Furthermore, missionary rivalry and disproportionate educational development between provinces resulted in a lack of coherence and



explicit educational policy on teacher training. The examination and certification procedures were ad hoc and eclectic.

## **[2] denominational concerns versus educational concerns**

Closely related to the above was an emphasis on Christian ethics and scriptures which outweighed educational concerns. Although the curriculum included academic subjects, such as arithmetic, nevertheless it continued to be consistent with religious instruction and the doctrines of the Church. For instance, in renowned institutions such as Lovedale the content of teacher education had 'three overlapping emphases': evangelical [training of evangelists and teachers], industrial [manual training] and academic [preparation for higher education and teaching] [Jansen 1990b:197]. In smaller institutions, where the majority of would-be teachers was to be found, the curriculum continued to emphasise religious instruction and manual training. Trained and untrained teachers were expected to play an important role in church affairs. The Methodist mission historian [Holden 1877:32] puts it as follows:

*The teacher and the preacher are fellow labourers in the Gospel. They are both included in the higher synthesis of the Christian ministry.*

Murray [1929:172-73] argues that religious instruction and the study of the Scriptures in Africa had little educational value:

*The real argument for any subject to be in a school curriculum must be in the last analysis an educational one. .... To this argument the verbal inspirationist, Catholic or Protestant, is unfortunately impervious, for his concern frankly is not with education but with propaganda. The essence of propaganda is unexamined testimony, its aim conformity and its spirit fear.*

### [3] mission-government conflict

The relationship and the conflict between the government and missionaries was complex and riddled with contradictions. On the one hand, the government was suspicious of the activities of the missionaries. According to the government and other white settlers, the education offered to blacks by the missionaries was promoting racial equality. This was unacceptable as it undermined the status quo. On the other hand, the missionaries [like the government] were:

*... convinced that the destruction of black independence was a necessary precondition of effective evangelism and pacification.*

[Etherington 1978:193].

Walls [1982:164-5] points out that:

*...missionaries were children of their time and almost without dissent they believed in the essential beneficence of the empire.*

The above argument does not mean that all missionaries were in agreement with the colonial government. Their disagreement was centred on the content of black education in general. In the case of teacher education, the colonial government expressed concern over the academic curriculum. It criticised the classical and liberal curriculum. According to the government the curriculum of teacher education should be determined by political and economic concerns. The political danger of the classical and liberal-oriented curriculum was that it would turn Blacks into 'Kaffir Gentlemen'. This would result in them wanting to be granted equal rights on the basis of their education. To ensure that political interests were not undermined by training colleges, in 1892 the government introduced a policy whereby white teachers who had been trained alongside their black counterparts were not allowed to sit for final examinations. The government was opposed to any multi-cultural education which might lead to a multi-cultural and equal society.

As to the economic issue, the government attached conditions to the aid granted to teacher training colleges. One of these conditions was that the curriculum of teacher training should be based on industrial subjects such as woodwork, agriculture, carpentry, domestic work, knitting and sewing.

A memorandum submitted to the Cape of Good Hope Commission set up to enquire into the educational matters of the colony demonstrates the government's desire to introduce a non-academic curriculum into teacher education.

*The missionary might be aided to meet the expense of agricultural and woodwork teachers I think that the principal institutions might provide teachers, who are qualified to teach at least the elements of agriculture. One of the principal subjects for the teachers' examination should be the use of the spade. Every native missionary would find that a little knowledge of carpentry and building would be of great value to the country's needs .*  
[Artkinson, 1978:49]

Due to conditions attached to government grants some institutions took a decision not to apply for these and continued to rely on overseas donors. Again, the government grants were not enough to promote the expansion of teacher training. The colonial government regarded the education of teachers and the black community, in general, as a charitable exercise best performed by the churches. Throughout the colonial era teacher education depended on external donation for its survival. The lack of a stable source of funding undermined both the quality of the teaching corps and the expansion of teacher training to meet the educational needs of the black community. It was difficult to train teachers for longer periods or to provide an in-service education which could complement or make up for the inadequacy of pre-service education.

#### [4] rapid industrialisation and social dislocation

The transformation of an agricultural society to an industrial one following the discovery of gold and diamonds, and the breakdown of tribal authority as a consequence of conquest and urbanisation, forced blacks to change their views about education. Education was perceived as an alternative political weapon which could be utilised to regain lost independence.

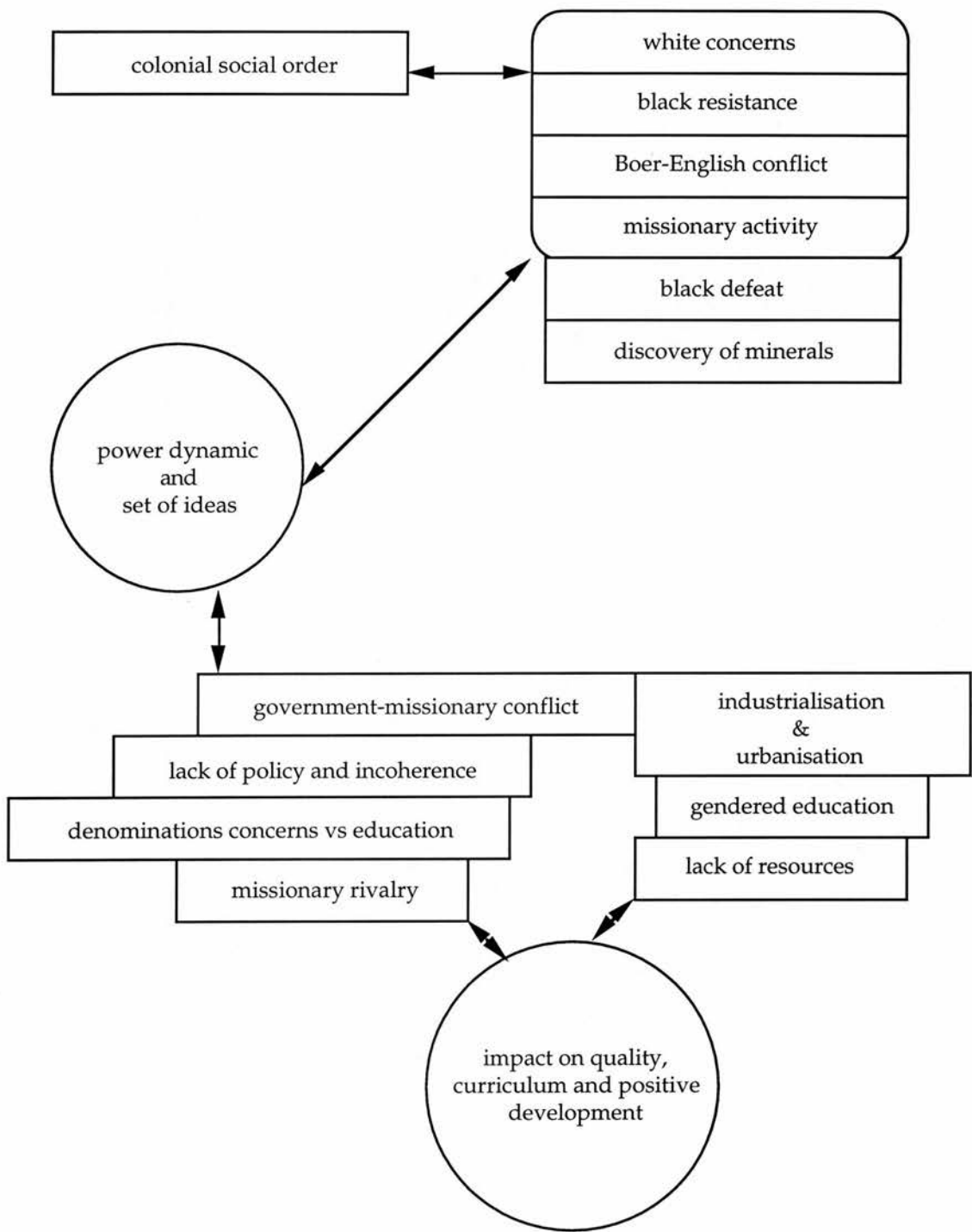
Each resistance war left blacks landless and '*embedded in white society*' [de Kiewiet 1957:24]. The consequence of this defeat was to weaken the tribal structure and its legitimacy, leaving the emotional and spiritual fulfilment of the black community in the hands of missionaries. The school thus became a socio-economic and political refuge of misplaced blacks.

Missionaries had limited resources and were unable to meet this demand. As such, many schools were filled with semi-trained teachers. Furthermore, 'lucrative' salaries offered by industry led to the flight of trained and qualified male teachers. These teachers took employment as court interpreters and clerks. As a result, more women were trained as elementary teachers. The entry of women into teaching impacted on the standards and quality of teacher education. This was so because of limited educational opportunities which were open to women and the narrow perception of women's abilities. Women were, and still are, viewed in terms of motherhood and domestic chores. Higher levels of education were rarely open to them. While men were prepared to take semi-equal roles in the church and in society, women were trained to be '*fitting wives for the native clergy, teachers and catechists*' [Holden 1877:339]. The curriculum of women's education was overtly sexist and it prepared them

for unchallenging and disempowering educational subjects which kept them in a position of obsequious underlings. This is demonstrated by The Abbot of Marianhill's statement:

*Instruct only the Kaffir boys in reading, writing and arithmetic, and train them to manual work, Do not teach the girls any English reading . Give them as little education as possible. The system of cramming is too much for the intellect of Kaffir girls. My experience is this: the more the Kaffir girls learn in school, the less they are inclined to work and the more insolent and dissatisfied they are.*

[Cock 1980:280]



**Figure 2A:** a summary of factors affecting teacher education: mission era



## Teacher training during the Union of South Africa : 1910-1954

The unification of four self-governing colonies [Cape Town, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State] into the Union of South Africa in 1910 set a new political tone. The union excluded blacks from political and economic decision-making structures. In accordance with the political dispensation, segregated schooling was formalised. As Tabata [1960:8] points out:

*Non-whites were thrown out of the body politic and a policy of social segregation was strictly adhered to. As part of this policy a system of education known as Native Education was evolved for Africans*

In 1922 a state-mandated segregated curriculum was introduced in primary education. This curriculum had two essential features: the teaching of the vernacular was made compulsory in all primary classes; and practical skills were emphasised [hygiene, handwork, gardening, agriculture, house craft and needlework featured prominently in the syllabi] [Jansen 1991b]. The introduction of a segregated curriculum affected all levels of education. First, secondary schooling [where the curriculum was the same for all racial groups] was limited to a few, this suggests that the majority of black children were going to end up with an inferior primary education, suited only for unskilled labour. Secondly, for the few who managed to get through to higher education, including teacher training, their educational progress was affected amongst other things by the content of primary education. A practical-oriented curriculum failed to give them a good grounding for subjects like mathematics and science which they were expected to learn at secondary schools.

The consolidation of white political power was also felt in teacher education. The government subsidy was slightly increased but this went hand in hand with some control of the curriculum, examinations and



certification. In addition, segregated teacher training was strictly adhered to. Teacher training colleges were marked by unequal standards between racial groupings. For example, the 1912 Education Act made it possible for white teachers to be trained in universities. Black teachers were excluded from this ruling. Instead, a separate Black College of Higher Education, Fort Hare, was founded in 1916. The opening of this college laid the basis for the segregation of higher education. Secondly, the entry qualification for teacher training for white teachers was raised from Standard 8 [ten years of schooling] to Standard 10 [twelve years of schooling].<sup>11</sup> For blacks, Standard 6 [eight years of schooling] remained. In the context of unequal educational development between regions and a lack of uniformity and coherence in teacher training, the entry qualification in Natal and Cape Town was Standard Four [six years of schooling] and Standard Three [five years of schooling] for the Orange Free State and Transvaal. The lack of uniformity in entrance qualifications continued to be a feature of teacher training until 1954.

Equally significant during the native education period was the restructuring of the content of teacher education. During the colonial era government interference was minimal. This enabled missionaries to continue offering academic subjects such as Latin, Literature and Geometry, as well as Algebra. The government's gradual interest in black education paved the way for intervention in curriculum issues.

The restructuring of the teacher education curriculum was influenced by local circumstances as well as by theories of education

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<sup>11</sup> The structure of education in South Africa is as follows: Lower primary [sub-standard A - B and standard 1-2] [4 years], Higher primary [standards 3 -5] [3 years] , Secondary school [standards 6-8] [3 years] and High school [standards 9-10] [2 years]. In all schooling takes twelve years.



emerging beyond the confines of South Africa. Between the two World Wars American education theories in particular shaped the content of black education. White Americans felt that their experience of black and white problems in the Southern States was something which could help in the solution of similar problems in Africa [Murray 1967, King 1971]. The main tenet of this theory was that racial tensions could be resolved by offering Negroes an education which encompassed 'Four Essentials': health and sanitation; appreciation and use of environment; home and household; and recreation-physical, intellectual and spiritual [Jones 1922]. This education was to be rural-based with an emphasis on practical subjects. The adoption of the South American model was opportune in South Africa due to its unique position of having a white settler population which was steadily augmenting its political sovereignty [Hunt Davis 1984:108]:

*White South Africans could readily view their position as akin to that of white Southerners in the United States, while Africans could easily draw parallels between their situation and that of black Americans.*

Convinced that the South American model was applicable in South Africa, Loram, the chief inspector of Native Education in 1918, set out to restructure teacher education in accordance with the 'Four Essentials'. He based the curriculum on three principles:

*... adaptation, education for life and black American education relevance to black schooling.* [Hunt Davis 1984:113]

Underlying these principles was a view that the smooth evolution of the socio-economic and political structures based on white rule, required an education that would enable blacks to adapt to their given social status and equip them with agricultural and manual skills. It is worth quoting Loram's [1917:54] concerns on the purposes of black education. These

concerns were to form a strong base for Bantu Education which evolved forty years later:

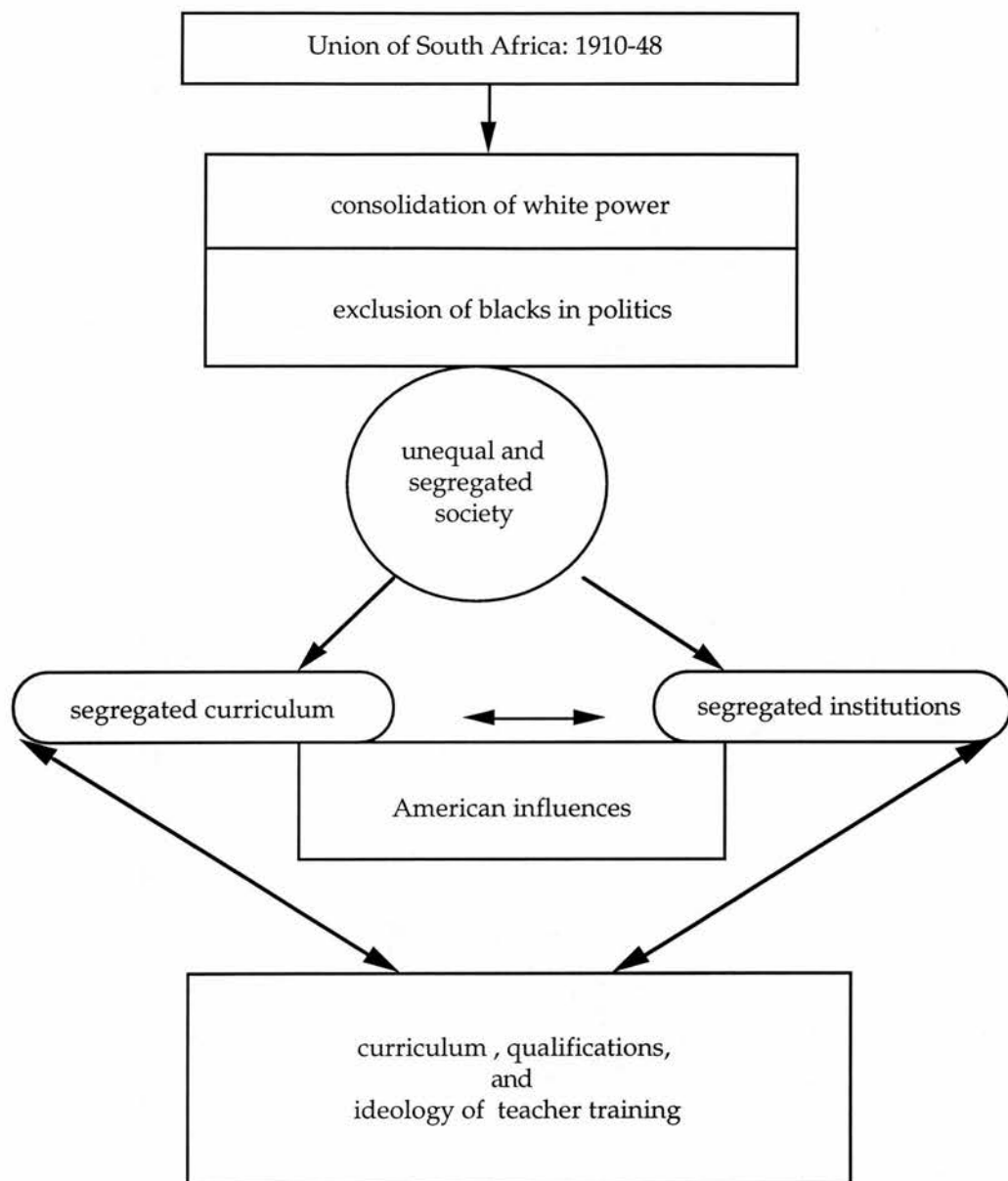
*The problem of race adjustment resolves itself into social economic and political problems of great magnitude ... On the economic side our problem is two-sided: how to secure the supply of constant unskilled labour which South Africa needs and how to employ the remainder of the Natives to the advantage of themselves and of the country at large.*

Applying his philosophical concerns in teacher education, Loram removed academic subjects from the curriculum and replaced them with extensive teaching practice and more industrial subjects. Teacher training courses had a greater emphasis on physiology, hygiene and nature study with a special bearing on rural life [Artkinson 1978:209]. The central thrust of Loram's restructuring seemed to be geared towards producing a teaching force characterised by forms of subjectivity specific to the South African cultural context. Furthermore, he viewed society as a static entity within which the position of blacks in the social, economic and political life in South Africa was both fixed and natural. He failed to recognise that South Africa's economy had been totally transformed by the discovery of mineral resources. This development was to change the way of life for blacks. Mass urbanisation spurred forward by industrial development was inevitable. Similarly, it was also ironic that teacher training and education in general continued to be tailored along rural lines when the land they were expected to farm was occupied by whites. In 1913 the Land Act gave whites 87% of the fertile land, while blacks were pushed to arid areas.

While recognising the contradictory nature of Loram's philosophy, it should be remembered that many of the criteria he applied in teacher education were in tune with existing racial practices. Teacher training, as schooling in general, was to be geared towards the production of semi-

skilled labourers who would administer to the socio-economic and political arrangements of the country. The interaction of local circumstances with Loram's importation of American model of education set a stage for the introduction of Bantu Education in 1954. The overt racial overtones of the latter were a logical route to follow for a society which was already practising discrimination in education.

The foregoing analysis suggests that teacher education during the Union of South Africa was shaped and influenced by the way in which power was distributed in society, by economic concerns of the white population, and by American models of education. These factors are summarised in Fig 2B.



**Figure: 2B:** a summary of factors influencing teacher training

## Teacher training during apartheid: 1954-1985

In 1948 the National Party [NP] won the general election. When it took office its major aim was to solidify Afrikaner nationalism and white supremacy in general. Within weeks of assuming office a 'new' ideology was enacted and called apartheid, meaning 'separate development'. This policy institutionalised racial and gender discrimination in socio-economic, political and educational spheres. Various laws were put in place to promote racial segregation. The main pillars of apartheid were; the Population Registration Act [PRA], the Bantu Authorities Act [BAA], the Group Areas Act [GAA] and the Influx law. The PRA classifies South Africans into four groups; White [the first citizens], Asian [second citizens], Coloured [third citizens] and Black [fourth citizens]. The BAA re-organised and resettled blacks in the Bantustans or homelands according to their ethnic backgrounds.<sup>12</sup> Dying tribalism and ethnic affiliation [in the face of industrialisation and urbanisation] were resurrected. According to the government this provided a solution to the problem of black political and economic rights. The homelands were thus meant to cater for the educational, political and economic aspirations of the black population. This arrangement would protect 'white' South Africa from black threat.<sup>13</sup> The blacks who were in the parts of the country that fell under 'white' South Africa were considered 'temporary sojourners': their presence was there to administer to the economic needs of the white community.

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<sup>12</sup> These homelands were Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Gazankulu, Lebowa, KwaNdebele, KwaNgwane KwaZulu, Qwaqwa, Transkei and Venda. In later years Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda were given 'independence which was not recognised internationally. In 1994 homelands were disbanded and incorporated into the new South Africa.

<sup>13</sup> According to apartheid policy South Africa is a whites -only country characterised by fertile land and urban metropolitan cities. The other arid parts of the country which are arid and rural are not South African, they are independent countries.



The GAA settled blacks in the urban ghettos such as Soweto and created affluent suburbs for whites. Poor housing and a lack of proper amenities in the ghettos was meant to discourage permanent settlement of blacks in the 'white' South Africa.

The Influx Law, through the identity book called '*dompas*' monitored the movement of blacks between urban and rural areas and within the metropolis. According to the proponents of the system each group needed its 'own' institutions and residential areas which were in line with their destined place in society. This, they argued, would promote and ensure racial harmony and guarantee the survival of the white minority in a 'hostile' African continent.

In 1954, in line with this ideology, Bantu education was introduced. The government took overall control of black education. Policy and curricular matters as well as the administration of the system were an exclusive domain of the Afrikaner government. As in all aspects of apartheid policy, the education of the black people was meant to educate them according to their ethnic identities and to channel them to inferior places in society. As Verwoerd's parliamentary speech explained:

*If the native in South Africa is being taught to expect that he will lead his adult life under the policy of equal rights he is making a big mistake. The native must not be subjected to a school system which draws him away from his own community, and misleads him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze. There is no place for him in the European community above certain forms of labour.*

[Rose and Tunmer 1975:266]

In an attempt to locate the effects of Bantu education in teacher training, the focus will be on four areas: [1] the homeland-based teacher training, [2] the curriculum and qualification structure and [3] the institutional culture of training colleges. These three areas have been



selected on the basis that they set the context for understanding the debate and rationales on what should constitute teacher professional development for black teachers.

### **[1]homeland -based teacher training**

Hartshorne [1992:236] writes:

*Among the many hurts caused and emotions aroused by Bantu Education among black leaders of the older generation, none caused such a legacy of distrust and anger as the distraction of institutions like Lovedale, Healdtown, Kilnerton, Indaleni, and a host of others. These institutions were far from being perfect, but to those who had attended them, it was the equivalent of wiping out Pretoria Boys High.<sup>14</sup>*

When the government took over teacher training from the missionaries it closed down all institutions that were in the urban areas. Of the thirty-eight colleges in existence in 1948, twenty-six were closed down [Hartshorne 1992]. The closure of urban training centres was in accordance with the BAA and GAA which classified blacks as 'temporary sojourners' in the urban areas. While the government provided primary and limited secondary schooling in urban areas, all other forms of tertiary education were discouraged. Urban blacks who wanted to train as teachers had to look for places in their respective homelands [see Appendix 2A: Geographical location of teacher training colleges]. For instance, Zulu-speaking students had to go to KwaZulu training college. The closure of many training colleges run by missionaries resulted in teacher shortages in many black schools throughout the country. The government did not build enough colleges in the homelands since it considered this to be the responsibility of the homeland authorities.

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<sup>14</sup> The Pretoria Boys High School is the grooming base of Afrikaner intelligentsia, scientists, pilots, engineers, etc.

Another explanation for the ruthless closure of missionary-controlled teacher training colleges is partly located in the English-Afrikaner conflict. This conflict culminated in the Anglo Boer War of 1899-1902. The aftermath of this war saw the defeated and demoralised Afrikaner flocking to the city. In the city they were faced with poverty leading to a 'poor white problem'. Alongside the forcibly-urbanised Afrikaner were displaced blacks, driven to the city by the same circumstances. The circumstantial co-habitation of two displaced groups [one white and superior and the other black and inferior] violated the Afrikaner tradition of racial purity. This incident heightened Afrikaner contempt towards the English-speaking white community. The 1948 Afrikaner political victory gave the Afrikaner-led government an opportunity to consolidate its power over the English. One area which was affected by this historical conflict was black teacher training. It should be remembered that reputable teacher training institutions which produced the black elite were run by British missionaries. The Afrikaner government accused these institutions of undermining the status quo. Thus teacher education became a battle ground between two dominant white communities.<sup>15</sup> It was one of the arenas where the Anglo-Boer War scores were to be settled. The experiences of this teacher illustrate this conflict:

*When Bantu education was introduced I was in my second year of training ... I think it was around Easter holidays when out of blue we had extra teachers who were Afrikaners. They visited our dormitories and told us that as from tomorrow we had to speak Afrikaans when we address college authorities and failure to do that will result in punishment or expulsion. It was a*

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<sup>15</sup> The tension between the English and Afrikaners in teacher education was analogous to the Cold War, where two superpowers tested their strengths and the effectiveness of their ideologies [capitalist and socialist] in 'Third World' countries

*nightmare for us as we were used to speaking English ... But I think it was even worse for the English teachers who had no clue. It was also fun for us to see them turning to lame ducks. I mean they were also cruel like the Boers. We didn't feel sorry for them, instead we gave them Afrikaans nicknames. Within a year all of them had resigned.* [Sylvia]

By staffing teacher training college with Afrikaners the government hoped to discourages teachers' competence in English and to eliminate the influence of missionary education. This is reflected in Verwoerd's statement:

*Teachers' desire to show off their knowledge of English culture and, possibly also, their ability to distinguish concepts from terminology, contributes to an irresistible desire to convey knowledge to their pupils in the same words in which they have received them.* [Hartshorne 1992:235]

## **[2] curriculum and qualifications**

With the introduction of Bantu education, the entry requirement to teacher training was elevated to Standard 8.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the government introduced a uniform qualification throughout the country. Teachers were trained for the Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate [LPTC] or Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate [HPTC]. De Vries [1989:452] viewed this move in relation to economic requirements in the 1950s: the expansion and diversification of industry required a 'better' educated workforce and thus 'better' educated teachers. Between 1955 and 1971 the content of teacher training courses continued to be similar to the ones offered during the Union of South Africa. In 1972 the Primary Teachers' Certificate [PTC] was introduced to replace the LPTC and HPTC. For the next ten years the PTC continued to be the major form of qualification for black teachers, about

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<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, a decade later Horrel [1964:92] reported that 'a large percentage of the teaching staff in black schools was composed of black women who had completed only Standard Six plus an additional year of general education and two years of professional training.

80% of all black teachers trained emerged with it [Hartshorne 1992:240]. The structure of the courses changed as well. Four courses were introduced. Course I covered professional subjects [general method, educational psychology, the theory of education, school organisation, religious education and practical teaching]. These courses were to be offered in the medium of either English or Afrikaans, but in most cases English was preferred. In Course II, the focus was on basic teaching subjects [African languages, English, Afrikaans and mathematics]. Other teaching subjects were covered in Course III [health education, social studies and general science]. Course IV concentrated on practical subjects [music, needlework, gardening, arts and crafts]. Although the colleges were Afrikaner-dominated, the medium of instruction continued to be English. Teachers and other informants in this study all agreed that this was a problem for the Afrikaner lecturers, who knew little English. This trend has been a feature of training colleges throughout the decades of apartheid. The pre-service experience of this teacher illustrates the point:

*Most of these Afrikaners who are failures in their own communities, academically are dumped at training colleges. There was one extreme case of a certain Mr Klopper who was a farmer, you know. During the 1980s there was this drought in the country and a lot of farmers had to abandon their farms. He just came there. For them I think it was some sort of job creation. He was supposed to teach us economics, that is what I was doing because I teach the subject. So he could hardly express himself in English. Klopper, I think, is this kind of Afrikaner who has gone from kindergarten to honours or whatever level of education he had: he's been to Afrikaner schools. He's an Afrikaner through and through. And he is supposed to teach us economics through the medium of English. Apart from the language problem he didn't know the subject, so we ended up saying to Klopper he should stay in his office. We can see what we should do in lectures, he can continue receiving his salary. And we told the rector that we think we are as good without the lecturer. Klopper was a typical Afrikaner staff you find in colleges of education.* [Matomi]



The first two courses were externally examined. This, as one teacher pointed out, was to ascertain that the graduating teachers were thoroughly 'brainwashed':

*The exam paper is not different from the tests you were given during the year. From time to time the same questions are asked. The markers who are all Afrikaners in turn look for the same answers. You have to give your answers in the way in which its written in the textbook, you cannot substitute a sentence with your own words. This is drilled to you from the first day you enter college until you graduate.* [Baby]

Up until 1982 the curriculum of teacher education concentrated on primary school work. The syllabus covered Sub-standard A to Standard 5. This meant that the secondary and high school work was neglected. This policy was in line with the government agenda that teacher training colleges were to concentrate on teachers for primary schools. Secondary school teachers were to be the responsibility of the homeland-based universities. But, as Hartshorne [1992:238] states, out of 1,092 candidates who took final examinations in these universities only 48 passed with degrees and 179 with non-graduating diplomas. This led to shortages of teachers who were qualified to teach in secondary and high schools.

In addition, Afrikaans was made an official language and a compulsory subject. Here we can see an echo of slave education where the teacher had to learn the master's language in order to serve the master better. The adding of Afrikaans in the curriculum resulted in its overload. To an ordinary black South African, including teachers, Afrikaans is associated with the oppressive system. A majority of interviewees could not disguise the negative attitude towards Afrikaans. Attending Afrikaans classes, as one teacher puts it, '*was like having 'ibhabhalazi'* [a heavy hangover]. Most teachers could not absent themselves as their successful completion of the entire teacher training course depended on passing

Afrikaans. If a teacher failed Afrikaans he/she had to repeat the whole year. This teacher commented that the teaching of the Afrikaans language was not academic:

*The language itself did not have rules and structure which you find in the English grammar. What they called grammar was 'umkokotelo' [not genuine]. They taught it as if they are speaking to the farm boy [farm labourer].* [Thulile]

Furthermore, the syllabus and textbook on school organisation and teaching methods were not in touch with the classroom realities of many black teachers. As this teacher explains:

*The textbook tells you that when you go to the classroom you will find an overhead projector, camera and all these sophisticated teaching material. It tells you that the teacher-pupil ratio is between 25 and 30. We were all taken up... But there was this hitch; each time we went out for teaching practice we came across overcrowded schools, dirty floors and broken windows. We realised that what is written in those textbooks had a lot of salt and spices.* [Gugu]

This teacher remarked on the failure of teachers to realise that Bantu education meant educational deprivation at all levels:

*I think we were very naive as teachers to think that the situation was better at college. We were the products of overcrowded classes, demotivated teachers and we expected to be better and enthusiastic. At college we used to have a big row on who to blame. Some students blamed black teachers. Why us, we did not write textbook which was full of lies.* [Masombuka]

Another teacher commented on the irrelevance of child psychology:

*Every thing we did was based on American psychology. All cases studies were about white children in Minnesota whose parents had cars and the like. I mean where is Africa in all this. So we complained one day when it was just too much because we were so confused.*

After the 1976 school uprising a new qualification was introduced, the Senior Secondary Teachers Certificate [SSTC], a three-year course

following Standard 10.<sup>17</sup> The entry qualification was a Standard 10 exemption.<sup>18</sup> This was ineffective as it produced only fifty teachers [Hartshorne 1992]. The reason for this was that most black students who managed to get an exemption preferred to go to university and pursue other degrees. As in other parts of Africa, university education commands high status among blacks. They see it as another pathway to black empowerment.

In 1980 the SSTC was replaced with a new three-year course, the Secondary Teachers' Diploma [STD] [Hartshorne 1992:244]. The School Leaving Certificate was instituted as an entry qualification.<sup>19</sup> From 1983 to date, all teachers trained for secondary and high school teaching have emerged with the STD qualification. In 1984 the PTC was replaced with the Primary Teachers' Diploma [PTD]. The entry requirement for this course was also raised from Standard 8 to Standard 10.

### **[3] institutional culture of teacher training colleges-**

Amidst many changes in teacher education, in terms of qualification structure, teacher quality continued to deteriorate. Part of the explanation is located in the authoritarian culture which characterises all teacher training colleges. Students who are training to be teachers are required to wear a school uniform. The colleges in a sense are upgraded high schools. Many teachers pointed out that when they went to train, the scene was not different from their previous school:

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<sup>17</sup> In 1976 Soweto schools boycotted the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. The boycott spread throughout the country. The uprising resulted in 500 deaths and mass arrests. Many students left the country to join exiled liberation movements such as the ANC and PAC.

<sup>18</sup> Standard 10 exemption means that a candidate is eligible to go to university.

<sup>19</sup> The school Leaving Certificate is awarded to candidates who failed to get an exemption.



*We polished our shoes, ironed our gym dress and starched our shirts as though we were at primary schools. We even participated in music competition which I thought was undermining us as prospective teachers.* [Joan]

The other feature of the regimented culture of colleges was the school bell. Hartshorne [in discussion with the author] pointed out that the school bell in training colleges controlled the lives of the students in a military style. The experience of this teacher confirmed Hartshorne's observations:

*The bell rings at 4am, we all go to the bathroom to wash. 5am another one rings. We go for a prayer in the dining hall which lasts for 20 minutes. Another one rings summoning us for breakfast. At 7am another ring. We sweep the yard, clean the toilet, each one of us is assigned a task. At 7.30 another ring, We all put on our uniform and go to classes. Even when we had to change classes the bell goes off. I used to feel sorry for the bell boy.*

The dominant form of teaching and learning was also an extension of the school culture. Students memorise study guides and lecturer's notes and reproduce these during exams. The word 'assignment' as one teacher puts it, '*was absent in the educational vocabulary of the college*':

*I mean the first time I came across the word assignment was at UNISA. I didn't even know what it entails in an educational sense. For me the concept was as rare as an Indian policeman in Johannesburg.* [Parker]

Most teachers point out that assessment was in the form of tests and examinations. The lack of assignment, as Walker [1991] argues, produces teachers who are not critical intellectually: they are not given an opportunity to write their ideas and to express them in an intellectual form. Teachers are prohibited from phrasing and rephrasing knowledge given their experiences. This results in teachers resisting alternative ways of learning and teaching or being scared of trying new things in their teaching. They tend to be comfortable with old ways of teaching which

they have been exposed to when they were school pupils as well as teacher trainees. As such, teacher training colleges produced '*trained craft persons but not educated men and women*' [Hartshorne, 1992] with an understanding of their task and that of the school in an increasingly changing socio-economic and political environment.

The authoritarian culture was maintained by the educational theory called Fundamental Pedagogics [FP]. The philosophical underpinning of this orientation is that the child needs patronage. The child is described as a helpless, passive observer who is surrounded by danger [du Plooy and Kilian 1980]. The child thus needs a firm and protective hand that will guide him and mould him to become a proper human being. The relationship between the adult and the child is described as hierarchical:

*Not only is an adult responsible for the upbringing of his child, but he also holds a position of authority implying that he has the power or right to enforce obedience. In the case of the educator-teacher he will have delegated power to commission a child to do something. Therefore a person in authority has something important to say to a person who is not yet holding such a position.*  
[du Plooy and Kilian 1980:15]

This theory is not only taught to teachers who must apply it in a school context, it is also practised in colleges. White South Africa, as Sparks [1990] notes, treats blacks as children, regardless of age. Old men are called 'boys' not Mr Khumalo and women are called 'girls' not Mrs Khumalo. The treatment of teachers in colleges is no different from this dominant practice within the white circles. Teachers are persons who are being trained for their work and are put in the same category; the 'helpless' children who need the firm patronage of the person in authority. As has been stated earlier, the characteristics of this authority are reflected in the management of training colleges, teaching and learning processes and the relationship between the teacher and the

lecturers. All of these are based on the authoritarian philosophy of the FP which is matched by the prevailing social order.

## **Conclusion**

An examination of the history and politics of pre-service teacher education shows specific educational continuities in the preparation of teachers in South Africa. First, in all three phases analysed, the purposes of teacher education appear to be linked to white interests. These interests are religious, material, political and ideological. This is reflected in the curriculum and became more pronounced when Bantu education was introduced. The missionaries used teacher education to spread the Gospel and to break the belief and the value systems of the black community. The successive governments [the colonial, union and apartheid] saw it as an institution that would facilitate the production of semi-skilled and submissive labourers. The curriculum, the learning and teaching culture of teacher training colleges sought to suppress the social and status mobility of teachers. Teachers' education was meant to keep them as firmly tied to their communities as possible. To ensure that teachers did not go beyond a certain level of education, the qualification structure was manipulated. Since 1910 the qualification structure retained racial and gender divisions in society. Even during the latter days of apartheid a majority of black teachers were still subjected to a three year training while white teachers were trained for four years, leading to a degree.

Secondly, teacher education has been a contested terrain. Dominant groups within society [missionary versus missionary, missionary versus government, English versus Afrikaner] competed over its control. The conflict centres around the curriculum and the political and material purposes of teacher education. Thirdly, throughout the history of teacher

education there has been no consideration of the needs of the black community. The aspirations and anxieties of the black community were of no importance to the policy makers and providers of education. The curriculum and the overall administration of teacher education have been a white preserve. As such, the culture and the values of the community were pushed to the educational periphery and treated as irrelevant.

Fourth, authoritarianism whether formalised or not has been part and parcel of South Africa's social formation. Teacher training colleges were not divorced from this practice. The lines of authority were clearly drawn. The difference between Bantu education and other periods is that authoritarianism was not supported by a theoretical discourse.

Fifth, the financing of teacher education has been taken as a charitable exercise with no firm commitment to fund it on the same basis as white education. Limited resources throughout the three historical periods undermined the quality of the teaching profession.

Sixth, it is also apparent that teacher training has lagged behind school expansion. While school enrolments increased, it was seen that there were not enough teachers to fill the posts. The teacher education programme was run on an ad hoc basis in many small institutions. It was not part of the educational policy, its expansion was a result of crisis. Even when the government took over the control of black education in general it had no long-term educational policy on teacher education and no projections of its expansion was made. It thus became a response to a crisis rather than a part of a carefully planned programme which would complement educational development in other spheres [e.g. primary and secondary school expansion].

Having delineated these educational continuities, however, there are marked differences between the apartheid education era and the previous eras. This difference is centred in the products of teacher training. The type of teachers produced by the missionaries were more vocal and critical of the status quo. Liberation movements have their roots in teacher unions formed during the colonial era. As early as 1879 the first black teachers' union, the Native Educational Association [NEA] campaigned for political rights of the black population [Odendaal 1984]. Missionary trained teachers became the black elite that challenged the status quo. The kinds of education they received from these institutions gave them the necessary intellectual and political skills to question white minority rule. For teachers who were trained under Bantu education it was not until late in 1990 that they stood up as a collective voice. Throughout the decades of apartheid the majority of them was politically inactive. The nature and form of education they received instilled fear in them and deprived them of the necessary intellectual and political skills to challenge the status quo. The context in which missionary trained teachers operated was slightly different from the apartheid context. The apartheid era was more oppressive than other historic epochs.

From this analysis it is apparent that pre-service education has been far from adequate in terms of quality, resources and paradigmatic underpinnings. Its curriculum was deliberately manipulated to be both inferior and out of touch with the social context within which education is situated. While the unfolding socio-political and material realities shaped and influenced both the content and purpose of teacher training, teacher education nevertheless sought to project to teachers the context in which they lived and worked as if it were static and unchanging. The changes in

the socio-economic and material reality that were taking place in South Africa were ill-matched to apartheid policies, leaving its proponents at odds with the world beyond South Africa. The contradictions of Bantu education and the entire political system came to a climax in the 1970s. The South African state experienced unprecedented crises of legitimation and accumulation. The nature of the crises and the government's response are both examined in the next chapter. This chapter sets the scene for understanding the emergence and the discourse of the teacher development movement of the 1970s and 1980s.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Impetus for Teacher Professional Development Activity: a socio-political analysis**



*Any society which feels itself threatened from without or enfeebled from within is likely to assert the value of useful knowledge and to stress the intrinsic purposes of education*  
[Reeder 1981:200]

## **Introduction**

This chapter examines the socio-historical, political and the material context within which the study is located. Teacher professional development occurs in the social and historical context. The nature of this context affects in part the rationales, conceptions and experiences of teachers, educators, bureaucrats and other stake holders.

The main objective of this analysis is to delineate the factors that have spurred forward the teacher professional development discourse since the 1970s, and to locate the roots for competing paradigms in teacher development.

This chapter is divided into two sections. Section one discusses the crisis of the apartheid state before the April 1994 general elections. It focuses specifically on the crises of accumulation and legitimation, and assesses their influence on the state of black schooling. The hidden and overt curriculum is also examined, with a view to extrapolating its unintended outcomes, which have contributed to educational and political crises. This analysis generates a discussion on the government response to crises, which is presented in section two. An overview of the Total Strategy [TS], a government policy meant to tackle the crises of the apartheid state, is provided. This is followed by the analysis of the application of TS in education through the educational reforms.

## **Section One**

### **Economic Context: the crisis of accumulation**

#### **Economic boom**

South Africa in the 1950s was characterised by the promulgation of apartheid laws, black resistance and a slow economic growth. Black resistance known as the Defiance Campaign or Civil Disobedience was met with intense brutality. The government's actions resulted in economic degeneration. Economic growth declined from 7% in 1947/48 to 4.6% in 1951-55 to 3.8% in 1956-60 [Hartwig and Sharp 1984:311]. This led to the business world casting doubts on the whole notion of separate development. Business confidence in the Afrikaner government political project plunged to its lowest level. The history of capitalist development in South Africa shows that the government and the business sector had a closer relationship than would have been the case in other capitalist countries [Yudelman 1983, Wolpe 1972, Legassick and Wolpe 1976]. The government intervened in capital and labour disputes. Yudelman's [1983] historical analysis of labour disputes at South African gold mines shows that the government involvement through the use of force and legislation casts doubt on the claim that the government was neutral and did not have a close relationship with the business world. More importantly, it puts into question the liberal thesis that apartheid is 'deviant', even 'bizarre' and incompatible with capitalism. He argues that the 'state-capital symbiosis' is far deeper than meets the eye. The state-capital symbiosis suggests that the political agenda had a dialectical link with economic concerns. The state military power and political policies secured a context for the continuation of capital accumulation. The

examples of this are the 1922 and 1924 Rand Revolts. The state military power was utilised to crush both the political opponents and workers.

To restore business confidence and strengthen the state-capital symbiosis the government needed far-reaching measures. To achieve this the government increased its oppressive military machine. In 1960, after the Sharpeville massacre,<sup>20</sup> the government 'successfully' crushed black resistance by banning the African National Congress [ANC], the Pan-African Congress [PAC] and the South African Communist Party [SACP]. This move put organised resistance in disarray, with its leadership forced into exile or hiding. The climax of government triumph was the Rivonia Trial, which saw the life imprisonment of prominent leaders such as Mandela and Sisulu to mention only two. Dazed and shocked by the state military power, the black community played by the rules of the game acknowledging, with great discontent, the reality of apartheid. The consequence of this was that for the next nine years there was political stability. This sent waves of confidence through the business community, nationally and internationally, and doubts about the economic viability of the government socio-political programme disappeared. A stable context for capital accumulation was at last 'secured and guaranteed'. What followed was South Africa's golden period of unprecedented economic growth.

First, the growth was characterised by foreign investment totalling R16,5 billion between 1963 and 1975 as compared to R3 billion in 1960 [Suckling 1975:23]. Johnson [1977] argues that the South African economic miracle of the 1960s was located in foreign capital whose penetration was

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<sup>20</sup> On the 21 March 1960 the people of Sharpeville, a township in the east of Johannesburg staged a boycott and burned their pass books which restricted their movement. The police opened fire on demonstrators and 31 people were killed.

overwhelming and alarming. It is estimated that 40% of the hundred largest firms were foreign or foreign controlled. What this suggests is that South African economic growth depended on foreign capital. The South Africa Reserve Bank [1972:41] acknowledged this dependence:

*In the long run South Africa has to a large extent been dependent on foreign capital for development purposes. It is still highly dependent on foreign capital, particularly risk capital to achieve a relatively high rate of growth. The relatively high rate of growth experienced by the South African economy during the past three years [1969-1971] was, therefore, only achieved with an increase in the relative importance of foreign funds in the financing of gross domestic investment.*

Foreign investors were attracted by the state's homeland policies which guaranteed supplies of cheap, non-unionised and exploitable black labour.

Blashill [1972: 49] comments:

*The Republic of South Africa has always been regarded by foreign investors as a gold mine, one of those rare and refreshing places where profits are great and problems are small. Capital is not threatened by political instability or nationalisation. Labour is cheap, the market is booming, and the currency hard and convertible.*

The consequence of cheap labour was a higher return on capital, estimated at 15-20 percent per annum, with investors getting back the whole of their money in only five to six years [Johnson 1977:30]. For example, in 1970 the rate of return on US direct investment in South Africa was 16.3%, compared to 11.1% world-wide [First *et al* 1972:15]

In such circumstances the investors tend to be least concerned with the politics of the country or the plight of the exploited labour force. This, however, does not mean that investors are unaware of the risks involved in the kind of social formation prevailing in South Africa. With this in mind, they invest in medium terms, rather than long terms. In the light



of the amount of money involved in foreign investment, it is without doubt the case that the South African economy, and its accumulation process, stood on fragile ground. The slightest internal socio-political upset, or shift in the international economic arrangement would set in motion an accumulation crisis. Indeed, the 1973 industrial strikes in Durban, the 1976 Soweto uprising and the 1970s world recession saw the flight of foreign capital, thereby subjecting South Africa to an economic crisis. Equally contributing to an exodus of foreign capital was the 1980s disinvestment and economic sanctions campaign launched by the exiled ANC and the Anti-Apartheid movement world-wide.

The second feature of economic growth was the expansion of the manufacturing industry. This was made possible by foreign capital, inflationary financing and the redistribution of surplus value from mining and agriculture. Between 1963 and 1970 the manufacturing sector of the economy experienced an average growth of 8% per year. Its GNP contribution rose from 18 to 25% in the period between 1950 and 1979, while the mining and agriculture shares declined from 28.3 to 12.2%. The expansion of the manufacturing sector increased capital imports. South Africa's hunger for advanced technology to compete with her trading partners on the international markets increased demands for imports. By 1964, 70% of all fixed investments in the manufacturing sector comprised imported capital goods. This rendered South Africa a semi-peripheral capitalist economy [Hartwig and Sharp 1984:314-15].

### **Economic decline**

As the boom years came to a close, the South African economy slowly degenerated. This decline was triggered by both internal and international factors. Firstly, the import-export imbalances put strains on

the balance of payments. South African exports [food and minerals], which were the main earners of foreign currency and from whom she derived her imports of capital and consumer goods, did not increase at the same rate as imports. While the value of imports increased by 150%, exports had only increased by 50%. These uncertainties and the fluctuation of food prices made it difficult for South Africa to maintain the balance between imports and exports. The situation was exacerbated by South Africa's failure to penetrate African markets.

Secondly, the world recession, which was characterised by the 1970s oil crisis, the instability of the world financial system and the Wall Street crash, had a bearing on South Africa's economic order. As stated earlier, South Africa's semi-peripheral economic status made her:

*... vulnerable to the cyclical upturns and downturns in the expanded reproduction of capital on a world scale.*

[Hartwig and Sharp 1984:136]

As the oil crisis hit the Western world, gold which is South Africa's 'fact of life' ceased to be the most important commodity. Instead, oil on which the West depends for its energy, particularly in the light of its climate, became the determining factor of western survival. With the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] calling the shots on oil, the West had to forge closer links with these states. In such a context South Africa with her precious metal became a small fish in the trading pond. Furthermore, in 1975 the International Monetary Fund [IMF] took a decision that it would no longer accept or use gold in any of its transactions. And to this effect it decided not to increase its gold holdings. With these developments the price of gold plummeted, leading to the devaluation of the Rand, the South African currency.

At a domestic level, some of the apartheid policies became a liability to economic growth. The BAA treated blacks as the 'temporary sojourners' in urban areas. Their [blacks] presence in urban areas which were classified as 'white' South Africa, was to administer to the labour needs of the white community and the capital. To discourage urban influx, the government halted the building of proper housing with essential facilities like electricity, clean running water and educational and recreational facilities. Poor housing, lack of health care, high levels of crime associated with poverty, did considerable harm to the quality as well as efficiency of labour. Closely allied to issues of poverty was the viability of the domestic market. The exploitation of blacks through low wages, which had no incentives or welfare packages, had an effect on the market. The purchasing power of the black population was greatly reduced by this. This was a great loss to the business sector as the domestic market was viewed as the '*springboard to export promotion*' [Torchia 1988:424]. Furthermore, an alternative African market was constrained by South Africa's poor relationship with other African states. Most African countries had severed links with South Africa during the apartheid years.

The influx laws made it difficult for the manufacturing industry in particular to have a stable labour force. Blacks were required to carry '**dompas**' and produce it whenever required by the police. Failure to do this resulted in imprisonment.<sup>21</sup> For blacks who were not born in urban areas, they were given short working contracts and at the end of it they were expected to go back to their respective Bantustans or homelands.

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<sup>21</sup> On average there were 1,400 convictions a day [Johnson 1977:181]. Until 1983 it was not uncommon for black workers, whether they were urban dwellers or migrants, to be stopped on their way to work by the police demanding the identity book/'pass'. Those who [for some reason] forgot to take their pass were imprisoned or deported to the homeland.



The second dimension of the influx laws and BAA concerns education and training. The country's education policies failed to produce the skilled workforce needed by the manufacturing and commerce sectors. Blacks were discouraged through lack of proper educational facilities in the urban and rural areas to take subjects like maths, science, economics and accountancy. However, the white labour force was too limited to meet economic needs of the country. It was also, from the business point of view, economically unsound to train workers whose residential status was subject to the shifts and turns of the political system. The shortages of skilled labour was one of the major concerns of business during the latter part of the 1960s. This is reflected in the 1961 Education Panel whose two reports called for the critical review of the education system. The Second Report [1966:13] states:

*... investment and education must go hand in hand, and that if either lags the result may be a slowing down of economic growth, in spite of the adequacy of the other. In the past it has probably been investment which has chiefly controlled the rate of economic growth in South Africa, but there is considerable evidence that at the moment the limiting factor is the supply of trained manpower.*

Thirdly, the banning of the black trade union movement and the lack of bargaining power put employers in a tight corner. They had no advance warning of workers' discontent and, more importantly, no way of negotiating an end to industrial disputes. As Friedman [1987:55] put it, they were confronted with a situation of trying to negotiate '*with 1,500 workers on a football field*'. The banning of the black trade union movement produced two forms of resistance, one overt and the other covert. Overt resistance was symbolised by industrial strikes, political stayaways and consumer boycotts. Hidden resistance on the other hand was characterised by:

*... defence mechanisms that conceal black South Africans' innermost thoughts and present an image that they think what the white boss expects and wants to see.* [Sparks 1990:214]

Sparks [*ibid.*] elaborates further:

*Servitude produces habits of everyday resistance on the part of the people who feel they are victims of an exploitative systems they cannot change or fight, and who try therefore to work it to their minimum disadvantage. Foot dragging, evasiveness, negligence, sabotage, feigned ignorance, pilfering, false compliance – these have been the weapons of the weak in the class struggle throughout history.*

In the South African context, industrial tensions are intertwined with political struggles. The uniqueness of South Africa's racial capitalism, makes it susceptible to tensions beyond the immediate confines of capital-labour disputes. Between 1973 and 1990 there were 3,000 industrial strikes and half of these were not linked to wage disputes, but rather to political issues.<sup>22</sup> The intensity of the black challenge put into question the dichotomy between economic issues and political or social issues. Political unrest in the 1980s led the manufacturing industry to abandon the motto '*politics is not our business, our business is the business of business*'.<sup>23</sup> This was signified in 1985 by the most dramatic meeting between leading businessmen and the then banned ANC in Lusaka. This was a gesture of desperation from the business sector and an explicit acknowledgement of black labour's political power. Unless black aspirations, both economic and politically, were addressed, the accumulation process was doomed.

The combination of international and internal factors resulted in the South African economy sliding to deeper recession, with direct implications on the social formation. In a South African context social

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<sup>22</sup> These figures are calculated from the annual surveys of the Race Relations 1973 -1990

<sup>23</sup> The director of Federated Chamber of Industry [FCI] Hennie Reynders interview with the Financial Mail, 22 October 1976.

conflicts were not limited to labour-capital tensions, but encompass the broader social structure which was based on racial exploitation and subjugation. Socio-political crises were characterised by the breakdown of the mechanisms of domination. When the ideological and repressive state apparatuses are no longer taken seriously by oppressed groups, a legitimisation crisis manifests itself. In the next pages the nature and form of the legitimisation crisis is examined.

### **The socio-political context: a crisis of legitimisation**

Gramsci [1971:210] writes:

*The crisis of the ruling class's hegemony occurs either because the ruling class has failed in some major political undertaking for which it has requested, or forcibly extracted the consent of the broad masses, or because huge masses have passed from the state of political passivity and put forward demands which taken together, add up to a revolution.*

The combination of the resistance vacuum left by the banning of major liberation movements and the economic boom of the 1960s gave the NP the latitude to implement all apartheid laws. The *laissez-faire* attitude of the business sectors and the absence of political resistance during this period, created a false impression of consent. To a casual observer, the absence of racial conflict precipitated by discrimination and inequality both in economic and political terms, was a sign of learning to live with apartheid and taking what it offered. The consequence of this as Johnson [1977:28] commented, was the brushing aside by the international business community of any economic boycotts orchestrated by the anti-apartheid groups abroad. Thus:

*... politically the impression grew abroad that what had seemed, in the early 1960s, so sharply etched in black and white was now a grey and dappled picture.* [Johnson 1977:30].

First, in March 1973, in a parliamentary debate, Suzman, a member of the Progressive Federal Party [PFP] told the government that it had 'spawned an indestructible black nationalism which was after all, only a by-product of white nationalism [SAIRR 1973:344]. In the 1970s, the Black Consciousness Movement [BCM] began to organise blacks throughout the country under the slogan '*black man you are on your own*'. Through its activities, BCM sought to restore black pride. In one sense, the apartheid social formation has succeeded in its intention of 'ethnic pride' [Nkomo 1981:130]. Such a pride fuelled black nationalism that challenged the hegemony of white rule.<sup>24</sup> By pushing the oppressed into the ghettos, the government unintentionally made it possible for them to reflect, organise, unite and strike at the pillars of apartheid unexpectedly. This was so because of the physical and mental barrier between black and white created by the GAA. The honeycomb of group ghettos, Soweto, Sharpeville, Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha, turned into a nightmare for the South African white establishment. How the blacks thought and felt was 'oblivious' to white South Africa including the government. As such, every political resistance staged by blacks caught white South Africans, and government officials, unaware. For example, six weeks before the Soweto uprising in 1976, Manie Mulder, the white official in charge of the area, reported that the people of Soweto were peaceful and happy [Sparks 1990:218].

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<sup>24</sup> The rise of Black Consciousness Movement was perceived as no threat to the social formation by the state. The state saw it as the success of its separate development policy. It was after the 1976 school uprisings that the state was awakened to its potential as a revolutionary force that could overthrow the government. The movement's greatest achievement was the breaking of classification barriers which kept the Blacks, Coloured and Asians apart. It defined all the oppressed people as Black rather than by the official tags.



The revival of black nationalism and pride was also influenced by the shift in the balance of power in the region. The defeat of the Portuguese [the oldest colonial white power in Africa] in Angola and Mozambique in 1974, gave way to the victory of the Marxist-Leninist movement. The liberation of these countries gave black South Africans a moral boost by what they saw as a victory of the underdogs in a situation analogous to their own. Indeed, a year after the independence of Angola and Mozambique, Soweto went on fire, spreading throughout the country.<sup>25</sup> In political rallies organised by the youth, under the auspices of the BCM, chants such as Viva Samora, Viva Frelimo, signified the influence the liberation of Angola and Mozambique had had on black South Africans. The tide of black nationalism gained momentum and challenged the basis of white minority rule.

Changes in regional power had security implications for apartheid masters. The liberation of Angola, Mozambique and later Zimbabwe removed the buffer which protected South Africa from the hostile black African states in the north, who were sympathetic to the black cause.<sup>26</sup> The collapse of the buffer meant that the guerrilla movement of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe [The Spear of the Nation] could have an easier access to South Africa to carry out sabotage in government installations. Sparks [1990:300] comments on the significance of the regional shift:

*It marked in fact a simultaneous turning point, at which the Afrikaner revolution crested and entered a phase of crises and decline, and at which the black revolution began to rise.*

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<sup>25</sup> There is a consensus among South African scholars [Kallaway 1984, Jansen 1990b, Nkomo 1984] that although the 1976 uprisings were sparked by the language policy in education, the real issue was political oppression.

<sup>26</sup> Before 1975 the buffer states were Angola and Namibia in the north west and Zimbabwe and Mozambique in the north east.

Second, there were continued attempts to conserve white supremacy; the South African dominant groups, for example, imported American soaps like *Dallas* and *Dynasty*. These television soaps had a double-edged purpose. Politically they promoted white supremacy. Images of affluence, cleanliness and orderliness were meant to remind blacks of the 'given': throughout the world whites are superior.

Obviously this image was at one with South Africa's social dispensation. Whites have lived in luxurious suburbs with huge gardens and swimming pools, which ironically have been tended by blacks. These images were meant to turn ideological questions over institutionalised racial inequality into common-sense categories.

On the economic level these soaps promoted a materialistic culture. Kallaway [1988] points out that the hidden curriculum of apartheid has been successful in inducting black South Africans into capitalist ideology.<sup>27</sup> Through these soaps and other mediums blacks are encouraged to acquire material things despite their low income. [Indeed, during interviews, teachers would ask the author to buy them a particular brand name pair of shoes in London or in New York and they were willing to pay for them, no matter how much they cost.]

Whatever the successes of this project [which had both political and economic overtones], the government failed to complement it with some form of material concessions. This produced discontent, since a significant number of the population was dissatisfied with their material base which

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<sup>27</sup> From the author's experience as a black South African it is common practice among blacks, regardless of urban-rural, gender or class divide, to aspire and stop at nothing to acquire a particular brand name of shoes or dress. A funeral of a black celebrity is a show-down of black materialistic culture. Another example is a BMW, which is every black person's dream. In Soweto for example it is called the bicycle of Soweto. This means that there are more BMWs in the townships.



they compared with their white counterparts and the images reflected in these television soaps.

In education, the inclusion of European history in the school syllabus was meant to remind blacks that whites had ancestral links with the supposedly most prestigious part of the globe. Such a link reaffirmed their superior status in an African context of dark-skinned and primitive habitants. Because of the diverse cultural backgrounds of white South Africans [English, Scots, French, Lithuanians, Jews, Germans, Italians, etc.] the government made an effort to include the histories of these countries in the school curriculum. European history as it stands, is a history of class conflicts, oppression, anti-semitism, revolutions both violent and otherwise, and wars between European nations. Events such as the unification of Germany, the French Revolution, the October Revolution and the holocaust did have unintended outcomes. Blacks were made even more acutely conscious of their oppression and increased their demands for equality and democratic rights under a unitary South Africa, rather than the homeland framework. These historical events, however remote, have served to solidify blacks' resolve against apartheid and white oppression.<sup>28</sup>

In addition, great deal of space was accorded to the creation of democratic institutions, both in Europe and South Africa, by whites. For the South African government these developments served as a showpiece of 'white civilisation'. The notion of democracy and its 'association' with the white world, was to the proponents of apartheid, too good to share

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<sup>28</sup> As the history teacher [the author] has observed how in European history sessions students could easily make a link between the holocaust and their situation. Comments such as 'we [students] understand why whites hate blacks, its because they hate each other as well, how could they love us' were common place.

with the black community, who as they argued were intellectually inferior to grasp its dynamics. They argued that blacks needed to have their own ethnically-oriented 'democratic' institutions. The exposure of black to democratic ideas, European events and the material culture portrayed in television soaps was a fundamental contradiction of a system that stimulated awareness and yet denied the majority of the population the possibility of human rights.

Having examined the accumulation and legitimating crises, it is now possible to discuss their significance in black schooling since the inception of Bantu education in 1954.

## **The educational context : the crisis in black schooling**

### **The state of black education: 1954-1980s: a brief account**

The educational crisis in black schools was a manifestation of structural and ideological contradictions of the apartheid state. The introduction of Bantu education in 1954 as a context-specific form of mass schooling for blacks, enabled the government to assert its control over the curriculum, the educational decision-making process, and educational policy. Bantu education had two aims. One was to school blacks according to their ethnic cultural patterns, the other was to reproduce a semi-literate workforce as required by capital. The first aim was implemented by establishing all educational institutions [from primary to university level] on ethnic grounds. For instance, Zulu speaking students go to Zulu schools and if they are lucky, will proceed to Ongoye, a Zulu speaking university. Teachers are also posted to schools according to their ethnic language. The second aim has been realised by the relative expansion of primary education. Such an expansion was urban focused, and even then the number of schools built did not match the pupil population eligible

for primary education. This was due to the general principle of Rand for Rand under which black communities had to meet half the cost of school buildings.

The continued emphasis on four year education fitted with the labour needs of industry. This, as Hyslop [1988:454] observed, is evidenced by:

*... the absence of public criticism of state education policy by industry before the end of the boom in 1968.*

Hyslop [1988] argues that the financial constraints acted as an Achilles' heel of the system which undermined its viability as a reproductive institution. In 1954 the state spent an average of R17 [£3.40] on the education of each black student, and R128 [£26] on each white child [Kane-Berman 1978:187]. The state adopted a policy that expansion of expenditure on black education had to come from an increase in black taxation revenues [Hyslop 1988]. As a result of the pegging principle, per capita spending on black students fell from R17 [£3.40] to R12 [£2.40] in 1962. Black taxation dropped due to low pay.

The financial constraints of Bantu education manifested themselves in different forms which affected all levels of education, that is, from primary to university. All levels of schooling were characterised by overcrowding with an average teacher-pupil ratio of 40:1 in urban areas, and 100:1 in Bantustans [South Africa Race Relation Surveys 1990].<sup>29</sup> Between 1958 and 1980 primary schools operated on double session teaching. A teacher instructed two classes daily, each group receiving just over three hours of schooling [Hartshorne 1992, Kane-Berman 1978].

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<sup>29</sup> This trend is set to continue for the next five years in a new South Africa due to lack of funding that would reverse the situation.

The dropout rate at primary level had an effect on the political intentions and purposes of Bantu education. This was precipitated by the lack of free and compulsory education for blacks. Poorly paid black parents found it difficult to keep their children at school for longer periods. In 1972 for example, of the 607,340 pupils who started first year in 1968, only 46.9% managed to complete four years of schooling [Hartshorne 1992:39]. This suggests that more than half of primary candidates left school before acquiring adequate literacy and numeracy for future employment or further education. The trend continued throughout the decades of Bantu education.

Both the double session and the dropout rate undermined the intended purposes of four year schooling, that of producing a semi-literate workforce. Inadequate instruction was not viable for economic development required by the commerce and manufacturing sectors.

Despite this, quite some students managed to get to secondary school and tertiary education. Amidst social and economic deprivation some black parents managed to keep their children in schools and encouraged them to continue to secondary level. The desire to move up the education ladder was also influenced in part by the systematic oppression: all forms of overt expression were effectively crushed in the 1960s. In the absence of any foreseeable alternative to challenge white apartheid, education was increasingly viewed as the only path to a relatively secure salaried future. The apartheid context of the early 1960s constituted a sense of reality for most people.

Children who managed to complete primary education found no places in secondary schools. The expansion of primary education did not go hand in hand with the development of secondary education. The

explanations for this have their roots in the unresolved tensions regarding the purpose of secondary education within the South African context, particularly in the economic sector. The history of black education shows that considerable attention has been paid to the purposes of both primary and teacher education, while secondary education has been left in limbo. Primary education was given emphasis since it provided basic literary and numeracy skills which were 'sufficient' for a race that was to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'. These basic skills posed little or no threat to a white dominated capitalist state. In the same breath, teacher education was geared towards the training of a group that would assist in the production and reproduction of an unskilled labour force. Both primary and teacher education served specific economic and social interests of the white community. They reflected, implicitly and explicitly, answers to normative questions about the nature of education and its relationship with the socio-economic and political manifestations. The neglect and slow development of secondary education in South Africa reflected a white fear and contempt towards a level of education which, if left uncontrolled and unrestricted to a few, might modify or alter the desired cultural and social patterns. Even at a time of economic boom during the post World War II, with the manufacturing sector of the economy expanding at an unprecedented rate, the role of secondary education was at best left undefined and at worst criticised for being:

*... too bookish, theoretical and concentrated on education for white collar jobs.* [Hartshorne 1992:65].

For the proponents of Bantu Education the role of limited secondary schools, which were in existence at that time, was to feed teacher training



and the nursing profession,<sup>30</sup> thus creating a middle class group which would administer the black-only institutions.

The other explanation is to be found in the BAA. Through this act, the government discouraged all forms of post-primary and tertiary education for urban dwellers. If blacks wanted to continue their education beyond the primary level, they had to go to their respective Bantustans institutions. As a result of these ideologies, the government policies halted the development of secondary education for the black populace. Urban secondary schools depended on blacks to raise half the cost of each school built. As with primary education this was impossible to achieve in a context of social deprivation. As a result, there were far fewer secondary schools in urban areas. For example, in 1971 there were eight secondary schools in Soweto as against fifty-four primaries [Hyslop 1988:458]. The primary-secondary education bottleneck situation led to overcrowding in secondary schools with a teacher-pupil ratio of 70:1 resulting in double-shift teaching in areas like Soweto.<sup>31</sup> The quality of secondary school graduates was greatly undermined by this.

The deteriorating situation was further compounded by the shortages of qualified teachers. The government left the training of secondary teachers to the 'bush' universities, who failed to produce sufficient numbers to fill the secondary school posts.<sup>32</sup> Hartshorne [1992]

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<sup>30</sup> In 1949 at the time of the Eiselen Commission which recommended the introduction of Bantu Education, there were 94 secondary schools for Africans. In 1966 seven of these were closed down because they were in the white-designate areas; only four schools were built to replace those closed. [Hyslop 1988, Hartshorne 1992].

<sup>31</sup> Hyslop [1988:458].

<sup>32</sup> The 1967 Education Act formerly introduced segregated universities for all population groups as classified by the government, that is, Africans, Asians, Coloured and Whites. African universities like teacher training were and still located in the rural areas in line with the Bantustans policy. Africans have dubbed these institutions as 'bush' universities, meaning that the kind of education they get there is narrow and limited.



states that the situation was further exacerbated by the graduates of these institutions who did not enter teaching but went on to pursue other careers. Thus the teachers who were trained as primary teachers, with a Primary Teachers Certificate [PTC] qualification were allowed to teach in secondary schools. The shortages were so critical that students who had just matriculated [i.e. had completed twelve years of schooling] were employed either in primary or in secondary schools.<sup>33</sup>

Because it was operating on the cheap, Bantu Education as Nkomo [1981] notes developed a culture of its own which was at odds with the government's intentions. This culture produced many sub-cultures which are portrayed by the action of the various players concerned [e.g. students, teachers, parents, education bureaucrats]. Each subculture operated in a dynamic manner either undermining the logic of Bantu education or reproducing it. This point is illustrated by corruption and nepotism at both the administrative and institutional levels.

First, at an administrative level, Bantu education was characterised by the culture of corruption and mismanagement. Discussion with de Vries [05/03/92] and Hartshorne [26/07/92] revealed that school inspectors and other DET officials had ill-managed the system. Most, as Hartshorne points out, '*treated their job as a Sunday afternoon **braivleis***' [barbecue]. de Vries, in discussion with the author, recalled how school inspectors ran a business of selling prestigious stainless steel cooking pots to female teachers. He points out that visits to schools were more to do with the running of this business than doing the job for which they were employed. Similarly the mismanagement of funds was a feature of this

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<sup>33</sup> The author of this study is one of those students who taught immediately after matriculation due to shortages at the local secondary school.

culture. In 1992 a government inquiry on the allocation and spending of funds in black education found that school inspectors made private business deals with booksellers who supplied textbooks to schools. These textbooks were a personal recommendation of the school inspector concerned. The books were educationally unsound and sometimes unsuitable for some classes [Weekly Mail, November 1992]. In 1993 de Beer, the then Minister of Education, told parliament that his department was trying to recover a sum of R2940.992 [£5,881,198] paid in salaries to teachers who had long left the service [Weekly Mail, May 1993].

Corruption and mismanagement emanated from the boereskaap [brotherhood] mentality: that of providing employment for the Afrikaner community. The system as Sparks [1990] points out, *'operated on the basis of selective socialism, a kind of group nepotism'*. This was most evident at the administrative level of Bantu Education. It was staffed by Afrikaners who were, as one teacher puts it, *'failures in their own communities academically and otherwise'*. As such, they did not have the educational expertise to make the system work. They were given enormous powers which they abused to the disadvantage of the system.

School inspectors exercised power over both the principals and teachers. In turn the principal applied the same yardstick. In this cycle where authority could not be questioned, nepotism, favouritism and power struggles constituted the culture of many black schools. Some of the teachers stated that before the formation of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union [SADTU] in 1991 they were not given promotion because of nepotism and gender discrimination:

*I was expelled in my previous school in the KwaZulu because I was pregnant. But I also know that I was due for promotion to the post of the Vice principal. The principal was not keen on*

*that. He wanted his cousin to be the Vice. I was very bitter and I will never greet that man if I meet him at the Beach Front.*<sup>34</sup>

[Malinga]

This teacher's reasons for going to school before seven in the morning illustrates power struggles within the school context:

*The principal is about to retire and there are some teachers, I won't mention them, they want this job 'ngamehlo abomvu' [with red eyes].<sup>35</sup> I went to see this old man who gave me 'intelezi' [African herbs] and a bottle of holy water. I want this job as well. I started this school with the principal. It is fair that I get promoted. But as you know Africans use intelezi to be strong for the contest. So in the morning I 'fafaza' [to sprinkle] the holy water in the staffroom. When these teachers come they will find me very strong, isithunzi sami sizabasinda [my presence will be felt].*

According to the foregoing analysis the government could plan and implement policies, but it could not anticipate the effect of these on individuals. The financial constraints as well as the culture and sub-cultures of Bantu education resulted in the dysfunctionality of the entire system. It is apparent that the government, as Hyslop [1988:452] argues, '*built Bantu Education on a shallow foundation*', economically and ideologically. This weak base proved to be more disintegrative than integrative. The government could not continue to legitimate its educational programme, and all the given that the political and economic crises were having a major impact on the country's education.

The climax of educational crisis was the open resistance to Bantu Education staged by students between 1976-1990. The nature of this resistance has been extensively studied and will not be repeated in this study. Instead, the focus will be on resistance staged by teachers, which has been marginalised by South African scholars. The next pages will first look

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<sup>34</sup> The famous surfing and tourist sport in Durban.

<sup>35</sup> The expression means that one is desperate.

at the limitation of concentrating on overt resistance of one group, that is students. This will be followed by an examination of teachers' overt and covert resistance.

## **Resistance to Bantu education**

### **Limitations of the resistance theory**

Over the past two decades, scholarly work on the black educational crisis has drawn very much on radical theories, particularly, the resistance theory.<sup>36</sup> The resistance theory challenges the reproduction theory which sees domination as a one dimensional process: schools reproduce the socio-economic and political order.<sup>37</sup> Proponents of the resistance thesis [Aronowitz and Giroux 1986, Wexler 1982, among others] argue that the reproduction thesis has underplayed the importance of human agency. It has, in the words of Aronowitz and Giroux [1986:70]:

*... failed to provide insights into how teachers, students and other human agents come together within specific historical and social context in order to both make and reproduce the conditions of their existence.*

According to these authors, the notion of resistance, struggle, conflict, culture and relative autonomy are central to the understanding of the relationship between schooling and the dominant structures of society.

Much of South African writing on resistance, while taking account of the structural and ideological crisis in black education, nonetheless accords great emphasis on student rebellion as a central feature. This is due perhaps to the role students have played in the broad liberation struggle, and the government's handling of student militancy. These two

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<sup>36</sup> Kallaway [1984] draws much analysis from reproduction theories, Nkomo [1984] uses resistance theory.

<sup>37</sup> Well known proponents of reproduction theory are Bowles and Gintis [1976] in their book *Schooling in Capitalist America*. However over the last decade, these theorist have acknowledge the limitation of their thesis.

points are captured neatly in Walker's [1991:79] account of schooling in South African townships in the 1980s:

*Simmering resentment and student anger occasionally erupted into open defiance and the police and army were very much in evidence, patrolling township streets and parked inside or near the school gates. Resistance bubbled beneath the surface, evidenced daily by the apparent breakdown of formal secondary schooling and the collapse of the tattered remnants of a learning culture as pupils arrived late at school and left early, despite the attempts of white principals to impose discipline.*

Similarly Nasson [1990:148] states:

*Segments of the mass state schooling system have been disabled or placed in a state of siege. The anger of rebellious students is being directed increasingly not just against inferior standards, understaffed schools, equipment shortages, but against the apartheid and capitalist social order as a whole.*

While concentration on students' overt resistance is justified in the light of the events of 1976 to the 1980s, it nonetheless limits our understanding of the complexity of resistance which contributed to the nature and form of the educational crisis and the effect it had on the broader social formation. It obscures other forms of resistance, as staged by other actors in the school setting. Over-emphasis on overt student resistance sets limits to the theoretical construct of resistance theory in education. By putting student rebellion at the centre of the educational crisis in South African black schools, these writers tend to treat the conflict over education as a war between the students and the state. As Dale [1989:153] commented in another cultural setting:

*the notion of struggle tends to be reduced and equated with the notion of a two-sided contest.*

Such an analysis discounts education as taking place in relatively autonomous institutions with significant internal social relations and conflicts arising in the school itself. Schools are social arenas where actors



[that is teacher, head teachers, students and school inspectors] in a complex way, mediate and respond to the interaction between their own experiences and structures of domination [Apple 1979, 1990, Aronowitz and Giroux 1986]. The nature and form of their responses constitutes both overt and covert forms of resistance.

### **Teacher resistance**

Resistance theorists have marginalised the oppositional behaviour of other parties like teachers and head teachers. In South African writing, teachers are either invisible, mentioned rarely, or merely treated as agents of apartheid, or government tools, in the implementation of Bantu Education. Most writing justifies this position by pointing out that the nature of authoritarian control of teachers by DET renders them powerless and easily manipulated by the system. To most black South African teachers are a specific group that have failed to challenge the system of oppression. This is clearly reflected in Sisulu's [1986:36] speech when outlining the aims of People's Education<sup>38</sup>:

*Gone are the days when teachers were forced to collaborate with apartheid structures. The people have opened the way. It's up to the teachers and the teachers' organisation to ensure that teachers follow the path of the people, the path of democracy.*

Other writers [Morrell 1988, Lee 1987] ascribe the collaborationist culture of teachers to their class location in society. They argue that the class location of teachers forced them to collude in the reproduction of education which legitimates the class structure of society. Morrell [1988], in particular, cites the rising education budget of black education, with the bulk of this budget going to teachers' salaries, as an example of a factor that

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<sup>38</sup>People's Education was a township -derived alternative education. Its aims were linked to the transformation of both education and society.



makes teachers passive and collaborationist. He argues that increases in teacher salaries have made teachers a relatively affluent group compared to most of the black community in which they live. He concludes that teachers will support rather than challenge the education system and the wider social structure. These accounts are functionalist and oversimplified and at worst subjugate the brave struggles teachers have launched against discrimination. The activities of former teachers like Curtis Nkondo who organised teachers and communities to campaign against the introduction of Bantu Education discount the collaborationist claim made by Morrell and others:

*I never stop campaigning for the destruction of the Bantu Education system. In the 1950s I spend many months in jail because I was anti the system. When I was out of jail I used to go to the rural areas and farms school and tell the community about the evils of the system.* [Nkondo]

Molobi's [1986:5] comment confirms teacher activism during the 1980s:

*There are presently teachers who have been expelled for 'being political'. Some teachers have been transferred without any consultation and on short notice, to distant rural areas.*

In this study twenty-one of the teachers interviewed had been detained during the 1980s' school boycott. They pointed out that they could not sit back and allow the army to do what they liked in their schools. As this teacher explains:

*When I started teaching it was the year of fire 1985. I was fresh from college and full of enthusiasm. After all I am the product of the 1976 rebellion. I continued to criticise the education system. I was arrested within three months in my first teaching post. You cannot be an onlooker when the children who are under your care are killed in front of you.* [Eric]

Bantu education was also challenged through hidden resistance. After the failure of the 1954 education boycott, teachers aligned themselves with career-oriented and conservative unions like African Teachers' Association of South Africa [ATASA]. It should also be remembered that political activism within the country was virtually non-existent due to a government crackdowns on activists. When the BCM was formed and the resistance to apartheid resurrected a majority of teachers and their union kept a low profile. To an ordinary observer, teachers were either passive or collaborating with the system. Interviews with teachers show that keeping a low profile was politically and educationally strategic to challenge the notion of racial inferiority. Teachers point out that to be politically quiescent enabled them to produce students who went to university and came back to challenge the white rule. As this teacher explains his action:

*As a product of missionary education I was pained by the implications of Bantu education. So I said to myself, 'give the children the best that you can offer'. I pretended as if there is no such thing as Bantu Education. Now I look back at my work with pride. I taught Dan who is an MP and others who are doing well in their lives.*

[Sylvia]

Another teacher pointed out that she uses the Bantu Education syllabus to challenge gender inequalities:

*The principal or the inspector is not in your classroom all the time. DET does not have money to keep 24 hour watch on what we do. So I teach gender politics through the DET syllabus. In my class I made the boys aware of women's' oppression.*

The actions of these teachers suggests that teachers are aware of the cracks within the system. They manipulated these spaces covertly to undermine the authoritarian culture of Bantu education. In this sense teachers' 'compliance' should not be viewed as collaborationist or akin to the actions of state officials, as has hitherto been the case in South Africa. Instead, as Dale [1989:36] observes, it should be understood that:

*While teachers are typical state employees, they are not typically state officials. Their role does not confirm to that of the ideal type bureaucratic official. They are no mere rule followers.*

Nonetheless, black teachers have been caught in the dilemma of keeping a low profile resistance while convincing the community and students that they are 'no mere rule followers'. Teachers' overt political and educational challenge only emerged publicly after the unbanning of the liberation movement in 1990.

Furthermore, in the context where the notions of autonomy, control and decision-making are absent, teachers resort to covert resistance to undermine authority. This form of resistance is illustrated by late-coming, absenteeism and disinterestedness in one's work. Teacher absenteeism from work is illustrated by the comment of Mr X:<sup>39</sup>

*CM: Mr X I phoned your school and I was told you weren't in. Is everything alright?*

*Mr X: Oh! no I'm fine. Time and again I stay away from school because I can't be bothered. You know I am a Zulu man, I like being in control. At school I don't have a chance to exercise that I... cannot make decisions about my career ... So I stay at home to control my domestic affairs. I no longer care whether I am late or not kuyafana nje u 6 no 9 [its just the same like 6 and 9].*

Another element of teacher resistance is absenteeism on the pay day. Harry, the SEP regional director explains:

*I do not bother with school visits on the pay day. You won't find a single teacher including the principal. And as a parent I resolved not to send my children to school on a pay day.*

Teachers' actions should be viewed as symbols of resistance as well as a response to both the working and wider cultural environment. As this teacher explains:

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<sup>39</sup> This teacher did not want his name to be revealed in this study.

*They can't tell us to be early and observe morning assemblies, because they treat us like 'abomashanyela' [sweepers] When it comes to paying us they uses the factory floor mechanism. We are paid like factory floor workers, Our cheques arrive late with no apology. And when we get them we just want to get out of school and please ourselves.*  
[Dorothy]

Teachers' working conditions bear little resemblance to the middle class occupation. On this basis teachers respond to their situation with more the familiar cultural behaviour of the working class community. The black working class take a half-day off on pay day. If the system treats them like ordinary workers, teachers respond in the same manner. To them this is a more authentic response and connects to the experiences and world of the working class community that surrounds them.

In examining the crisis of the South African state in the 1970s to the 1980s this section has shown that this crisis has been fuelled by internal structural and ideological contradictions, socio-economic conflict, the geopolitical shifts in the Sub-Sahara, as well as shifts in global economic order. Under this diverse pressure the South African state found itself in a crisis that continued until the 1994 general election.

Internally the South African socio-economic and political base has been built on a fragile foundation. This fragile base was intensified by the introduction of apartheid; a political and social experiment that could only bring about racial civil war, a catastrophe for the dominant groups. The success of this political programme needed a lot of resources which South Africa did not have, as its economic base was built on dependence, despite the wealthy mineral resources. Ideologically, the whole basis of separate development was a sign of a country in crisis. The crisis of the 1980s in particular are a sign of *'incurable structural contradictions'* [Gramsci 1971:178].

Secondly, it has been shown that the education of the black community, in particular, as one of the legitimating tools of the state, failed to produce a docile community; instead, it became a key site for challenging white domination. It has been argued that education, in general, has not met its primary function: white education failed to produce sufficient numbers to meet the demand for a skilled labour force, while black education failed to produce an adequately motivated and trained [technically] black labour force. The quality of black education could not '*revive the fortunes of South African industrial capitalism*' [Nasson 1990:148]. Furthermore, the counter-hegemonic cultures of teachers and students undermined the capacity of Bantu Education to be a reproductive institution. How does a state, entangled in this crisis respond? What is the nature of this response? These questions are addressed in the next section.



## Section Two

### Total Strategy [TS] and educational reforms

#### An overview of TS

The 'total strategy' was an aggressive, reformist initiative which originated from the military, foreign affairs and the '**verligte**' [enlightened] organs of the South African government [Swilling 1988:5]. A dominant assumption within the military circles was that South Africa was the target of a 'total onslaught' [TO] directed from Moscow and that it was being waged at many different levels: psychological; political; economic; diplomatic; social and religious; as well as military [Sparks 1990:309]. Thus, TS called for unprecedented government intervention in socio-economic and political structures, as the White Paper on Defence [Pretoria 1977:5] stipulated:

*The comprehensive plan to utilise all the means available to a state according to an integrated pattern in order to achieve the national aims within the framework of specific policies. A Total national strategy is, therefore, not confined to a particular sphere, but is applicable to all levels and to all functions of the state structure.*

The central emphasis of the policy was the re-alignment of 'state-capital symbiosis' and the inclusion of the military in this relationship. TS central thrusts were urban policy, industrial relations, reorganisation of political representation in central, regional and local government, and restructuring of the security and intelligence apparatus. For the purposes of this study, the focus will be on urban and industrial relations since they have had a direct influence on the recommendations made by the de Lange commission appointed by the government in 1981 to which looked at all facets of education in South Africa.



First, the re-conceptualisation of urban policy was promulgated through the Riekert commission appointed by the government to look into the issues of influx control. In the previous section an analysis of the influx control and its impact on the economy and political dispensation was offered. The appointment of the Riekert commission should, therefore, be seen in the light of that context. The commission published its report in 1979, recommending the endorsement of the urban status of blacks in urban areas, under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act. Through this act urban blacks ceased to be 'temporary sojourners'. A clear distinction was made between the urban blacks [referred in the report as '*insiders*'] and the rural blacks [the '*outsiders*'] domiciled in the homelands and with temporary employment contracts in 'white' metropolitan South Africa. The movement of the '*outsiders*' was to be strictly monitored, while the '*insiders*' were free to move in and out of metropolitan areas. However, such residential status was not extended to the political realm. As with their rural counterparts, urban residents were to exercise the political rights in their respective homelands. This strategy was called 'orderly urbanisation'. This means that the government acknowledged the inevitability of mass black urbanisation; nevertheless it sought to control the process with a view to maintaining the apartheid boundaries and the homeland system. The Riekert Report left the basic tenet of apartheid intact: the political and geographical boundaries of segregation articulated through the homeland policy.

'Orderly urbanisation' was intimately linked to industrial relations and employment strategy articulated through the Wiehahn commission, appointed by the government to look at the industrial issues. Prior to the Wiehahn Report, South Africa had a two-tier industrial relations

structure: one formal and guaranteeing industrial rights to whites, coloured and Indians; the other a repressive labour regime for black workers with no industrial rights. The exclusion of the blacks from a 'civilised' labour structure led to mass industrial strikes that intensified in the 1980s. Thus, the recommendations of the Wiehahn commission should be considered within the aforementioned context. A deracialised industrial relations system was recommended. Black trade unions were recognised, thus enabling them to:

*... gain more space in their attempt to move beyond the struggle for recognition to direct negotiations at shop-floor level.*

[Webster: 1988:180]

Both the Riekert and the Wiehahn recommendations were positively adopted by the government. The adoption of the Wiehahn report in particular signalled a fundamental shift from white politics; protection of white workers and interventionist policies to economic development, and a belief in the efficacy of market forces [Giliomee 1982:16]. However, as Giliomee warned, the indifference to white workers should not be taken to mean the protection of black workers, but rather as an event that was out of the government's control, that is, the decline in immigration and birth rates among whites. As such, the manufacturing sector of the economy was no longer adequately being serviced by the white labour force. This led to skilled manpower shortages. The industrial rights accorded to black workers therefore, enabled industry to train them for skilled jobs without contravening the law. It could be argued thus, that the reform measures in the urban and industrial spheres were partly addressing the economic crisis discussed earlier. It was apparent that the black labour force had to be drawn in and conditions for the stability of this force had to be secured, hence the recognition of urban blacks as industrial

citizens rather than political citizens of 'white South Africa'. The removal of 'economic shackles' like the Job Reservation Act [rather than political barriers] was seen by the government as a viable strategy for creating political and social stability.

It can also be argued that the Riekert-Wiehahn strategies were postulating a specific thesis of socio-political and economic legitimacy in South Africa. This thesis, as critics [Giliomee 1982, Swilling 1988, Cobbett *et al* 1988] of the TS have argued, rested on an economic perspective which asserts that economic growth equals political stability leading to legitimisation. The logic and fruition of this thinking depended on forging an alliance between all major actors, that is, the government, military, business and urbanised blacks.

The business, government and military alliance was forged through the logic of 'free enterprise'. The think-tankers of TS, the military, endorsed the system of 'free enterprise' and committed itself to its advancement and due protection. Indeed, this pronouncement was timely, given the globalisation of 'free enterprise' as a new form of capital accumulation in long established capitalist countries like Britain, the US and Germany. By endorsing the 'free enterprise' clout in its policy, the South African government, together with the military, hoped to restore the confidence of both domestic and international business communities. A growing sentiment towards a market economy created the basis upon which the military-business relationship could be forged. Also proving a booster for this alliance was the rise of P.W. Botha as both the prime minister and the leader of the NP. Botha's power bases were in the military and to cap it all, he was also a product of the Cape Town Nationalist Party which was dominated by influential Afrikaner financial

institutions like Sanlam. Armed with this background, Botha not only 'institutionalised a military and business presence within the state' [Mann 1988:55] but also ushered a 'new politicking' in South Africa that was to change the course of history. This politicking took the form of convergence between the military, government and business. They all agreed on the need to change the economic and political face of South Africa in order to ensure the continuity of capitalism as a mode of production.

A Black alliance was to be forged through the sophisticated approach called 'the winning of the hearts and minds'. Blacks were to be given some economic rights by increasing their salaries and improving their conditions at the workplace. Business viewed this as a strategy through which a black middle class could be created. This class would have a stake in the economic prosperity of the country. On the other hand the government and military would measure the political incentives. It was hoped that the black middle class would provide the much needed counter-attack to Marxist radicalism which was then firmly established in South African townships. P.W. Botha's speech [1980:8] outlines this more clearly:

*We hope to create a middle class among the nations of South Africa. Because if a man has possessions and is able to build his family life around those possessions, then one has already laid the foundation for resisting Communism. If anyone has something to protect, he then fights Communism more readily.*

The philosophical basis of this thesis [creation of a politically inactive middle class] was derived from the American model, where the need to create a stable and less revolutionary black middle class was brought about by the civil rights campaigns of the 1960s. Since then a number of legislative measures have been put in place to accelerate the



economic mobility of blacks by offering them better opportunities. In the USA, at least one third of the black community had made it to the American middle class category [Giliomee,1982:56]. But, as Giliomee points out, the plight of the rest of the black community had been largely forgotten. Indeed, the 1990 Los Angeles riots bear testimony to this. It can be argued that the application of this model in South Africa was both politically inept and ideologically defunct on the basis that more than half of the black population resided in rural areas where unprecedented poverty was most profound. The urban focused reforms emphasised in the Riekert-Wiehahn recommendations failed to articulate rural poverty, which, as Giliomee noted, could be a fertile ground for social unrest and guerrilla incursions. The urban bias could not tip the scale in favour of the government, business and military alliance.

The economic clout of the TS should also be conceptualised within the global trends of a market forces crusade. The monetarist movement in western Europe and the US influenced the 'new' thinking in South Africa. Mann [1988] rightly argues that whilst the doctrine of TS entailed a greater government intervention in certain endeavours, it also came to be associated with the idea of a reduced governmental role in the economy, a central thesis of the market economy. But the market economy thesis took a specific form in South Africa, since it was applied in the context of a reformist initiative. While in advanced capitalist countries the state sought to limit the power of the unions and cut welfare provision in South Africa, the nature of the economic and political crises forced the state to grant these, albeit in a framework of white domination. The central thrust of the reformist initiatives in South Africa was the extension of welfare services to all sectors of population and a greater

concern with social security for blacks. It could also be argued, in the light of the analysis presented in section one of this chapter that government intervention was one of the strategies aimed at restoring its credibility. Furthermore, its intervention in the economic sphere is in one part a legacy of the state-capital symbiosis. The political logic of TS thus tended to be the antithesis of the market economy.

The reformist movement did not only shift the political and economic terrain, it also brought in a new language of legitimation. Posel [1984] in her analysis of the South African state since 1978 observed that the language of the state discourse had shifted away from the Verwoerdian ideological orthodoxy to a technocratic ideology. The actions of the government, she maintains, were increasingly defended on pragmatic and instrumental grounds. She writes:

*The new reformist language currently prominent within the South Africa state upholds such a standard of technocratic rationality, recognisable in two guises: in the call for pragmatic and realistic government and in the powers assigned to experts in administering 'objective solutions to national' problems.*

[Posel 1984:2]

The effects of technocratic rationality, as Posel argues, is meant to de-politicise politics, thus creating a 'neutral' basis through which the tripartite alliance can operate. Technocratic rationality is not neutral, but rather it is a sophisticated form of control and legitimation. It also, as Wright [1977:218] puts it, '*embodies certain broad political orientations*'. In a South African context, these orientations, as has been frequently pointed out, are both conservative and neo-liberal [Nasson 1990, Buckland 1982, 1984].

Having provided an overview of the TS, as a face-lift strategy, it is possible to focus on how it was applied in education. This analysis will



illuminate the ideological approaches to teacher professional development.

## **The application of the Total Strategy in education**

### **The de Lange Report**

In June 1981 the cabinet requested the Human Science Research Council [HSRC], a parastatal organisation to carry out a 'scientific' investigation into all facets of education in South Africa:

*Your Council, in co-operating with interested parties must conduct a scientific and co-ordinated investigation and within 12 months make recommendations to the Cabinet on: the guiding principles for a feasible education policy in the RSA, the organisation and control structure and financing of education, machinery for consultation and decision making in education, an education infrastructure to provide for the manpower requirements of the RSA and self realisation of its inhabitants and a programme for making available education of the same quality for all population groups .* [HSRC 1981:1]

The cabinet's request as critics [Buckland 1984, Kallaway 1984, Nasson 1990] have argued, was a response to a 'triple crisis' [accumulation, legitimisation and educational {school boycott and falling enrolment in white schools}]. The HSRC appointed Professor de Lange, the Rector of Rand Afrikaans University [RAU] to lead the investigation. In July 1981, the Main Committee of the research team published its findings which are popularly known as the 'de Lange Report'. The report tabled eleven principles for educational provision in South Africa [see Appendix 3A: Principles for the provision of education in the RSA]. These principles emphasised equal opportunities and educational standards for all population groups, diversification on the basis of culture and religion, the need to harmonise the relationship between non-formal and formal education, the freedom of choice with a careful balancing between the needs of individuals and of the economy, the endorsement and

subsidisation of private schools, the recognition of the professional status of teachers, the consolidation of the existing educational structures at a central and regional level, and state-capital responsibility in funding non-formal education.

The cluster of the 'self-assured principles' [Nasson 1990] embodied in the report reflects a juxtaposition of scientific rationality and ideological paradigm. The scientific rationality is reflected in the terms of reference which stipulate that the process of investigation should be 'scientific' rather than 'opinionated'. The de Lange report accumulated statistical evidence to confirm the glaring disparities in educational provision between different population groups. The recommendations of the report were based on this evidence.

The other element of scientific rationality is the technicist approach to education. This is reflected in the insistence on the use of educational technology. Much confidence is placed on technology as a means of addressing educational inequities, deteriorating quality and standards, inefficiencies in administration, and shortages of a skilled workforce. The report recommended the utilisation of technology from pre-primary to tertiary, in non-formal and distance education, at factory floor level and in the management of education. The use of technology in the classroom will, according to the report, turn a teacher into a manager, a view which underlined the technicist approach to education:

*Educational technology enhances and enriches the quality of education in the classroom. It bring the outside world into the classroom thus enriching learning activities. The accent therefore shifts from the teacher, as the only source of information to the teacher as manager in the teaching learning situations .*  
[HSRC 1981:50]

The fundamental aspect of the technicist approach is reflected in the report's recurring emphasis on vocational and skill-oriented education. It encourages the expansion of vocational education and the scaling down of academic education. As such, the curriculum should be restructured with a greater emphasis on practical skills. These skills, as the report argued, will harmonise the relationship between education and the country's manpower needs. Furthermore, skill-oriented education is viewed as an ultimate solution to unemployment, economic degeneration and individual freedom. This aspect of the report as Kallaway [1984] argues:

*... seems to be lifted from the pages of the World Bank policy documents on economic growth.*

Such an argument was not at odds with the global debates about the purposes of education. Documents such as the Nation at Risk in the USA and the New Right's hegemonic agenda elsewhere in Europe, sought to connect education to market forces on the grounds that economic crisis would thereby be averted.

Despite the government's insistence that the investigation should be a scientific exercise, it nevertheless embraced an ideological conflict associated with specific political orientation. Hartshorne [1992:153-54] a member of the Main Committee of the de Lange Report illuminates this:

*The issue came to a head fairly early in the proceedings when the so-called principles came under discussion. The rift between the Christian National and liberal perceptions was so deep to resolve in a fundamental way...There were many tense moments, some very straight talking from time to time, near walk-outs and many impasses.*

*The decision to concentrate on provisions was one way of saving the investigation from complete disintegration. In the end what was decided upon and recommended was a result of negotiation, some bargaining and the exercise of fallible human judgement.*

Indeed, the final report as Buckland [1982] argues does not reflect a disciplined scientific exercise. He points out that the synthesising of 20,000 pages into 200 pages show that any vestiges of scientific method was compromised to make way for ideological and political concerns.<sup>40</sup> Indeed the principle of educational equality represented a liberal view while the principle of diversity on the basis of culture and religion point to the influence of the Afrikaner nationalists who used the culture card to discriminate. The principle of educational equality was in fact attempting to reverse foundations of inequality that have characterised education since the colonial era. The application of this principle meant that the educational resources of the country will be distributed on an equal basis and this is ideological given the politics of the country. The report nevertheless casts this political matter as a simple and rational decision reached on the basis of the changing economy, rather than as the outcome of a strategic ideological shift. On the other hand, the issue of pluralism in education meant many things for different groups. For the black community it was a continuation of apartheid in a more sophisticated form. And for the Afrikaner community the principle enabled it to maintain 'racial purity'. These issues are not defined in the report since compromises had to be reached on provisions rather than on meaning.

The other inescapable political matter [and one rarely commented upon] is the definition of 'all inhabitants of the country'. The statistical figures on disparities and the projections presented, excluded the black communities which the Riekert Report classified as 'outsiders' [blacks

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<sup>40</sup> The research was systematically divided into eighteen areas and a working committee was set up to conduct research and submit its findings to the Main Committee which put together the final Report. [see Appendix 3B: working committees of the de Lange Report: Key to references to the de Lange report].



who reside in the so called homelands]. The exclusion of these communities was essentially an ideological matter, inextricably connected to socio-economic agendas. These political agendas, as they are reflected in the report, negate any claim to 'objectivity and neutrality'.

The juxtaposition of scientific rationality with subtle political and ideological concerns generated a pragmatic logic in educational policy discourse, and presented a reformist consensus that enabled the government to legitimate its programme. The technicist approach to education has had an influence on the paradigmatic discourse of many teacher development projects. Both mainstream and NGO in-service programmes which emerged after the publication of the report, formulated their approaches with specific reference to the pragmatic logic and the incremental and ameliorative consensus reflected in the de Lange Report. For the purposes of this study it is important to look at the recommendation on the education of teachers with a specific focus on science, language and qualifications.

### **The de Lange Report and teacher professional development**

The successful implementation of the de Lange Report and indeed the reform movement in education depended on the teachers. Their education and attitudes to changes were crucial. The implications and significance of the de Lange Report for black teachers in particular has received little attention. The 'discourse of silence' in this area can be attributed to the little space accorded to teacher development in the report. Hartshorne [interviewed 18/09/92] provides the reason:

*The very concept of professional development was never raised in the proceeding. There were very few researchers who were interested in the area. But more important as you know, teacher education in South Africa is an area of basic ideological conflict*

*and the conservative members of the Main Committee blocked any debate over the issue.*

The view that teacher education is an arena of ideological conflict is also confirmed by Hofmeyer [interviewed 10/09/92]:

*The government successfully closed in on training colleges. The National Education Crisis Committee [NECC]<sup>41</sup> tried during the late 1980s to infiltrate its programmes, it was just impossible. This was the only area the Afrikaner have held on to while the rest of the system was disintegrating.*

Despite the lack of comprehensive recommendations on teacher education [pre-service and in-service] the report laid pragmatic stress on the need for improvements in qualifications and for in-service education on teaching skills, science, maths and English language. Firstly, the most important recommendation on in-service education has been the need to formalise entry qualifications to teacher training. All candidates for teacher training regardless of race and gender had to have Standard 10. Teachers who were already practising had to study part-time for this qualification. This recommendation was welcomed and endorsed by the government as a matter of policy in its 1983 White paper The upgrading of qualifications was not meant to improve the education of teachers or that of their pupils. Its purposes are stated as follows:

*Upgrading programmes will contribute towards eliminating the present gap between the salaries of under-qualified teachers and those who meet the minimum qualifications requirements. The inadequate qualifications of Black teachers will then not be seen as a manifestation of 'inequality in the provision of education.*

The use of qualifications is strategically poised to deal with both the black and white teachers. The black teachers will perceive these

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<sup>41</sup>NECC was formed by the parents, teachers students and community leaders in 1985 to try and address education crisis of the 1980s. Teachers and academics who were part of NECC wrote an alternative curriculum for a post-apartheid South Africa. This curriculum was based on the aims of People's Education.



recommendations as a change of heart by the government, a move that will keep teachers materially happy. The ideological shift here is that salaries will be based on qualifications rather than race. This was one of the bases for creating an economically mobile black middle class. At a broader educational level, the qualification parity will reverse the historical legacy discussed in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, what remained to be seen was whether the upgrading of qualifications would prepare teachers for the task they were required to do and improve teacher effectiveness.

In white educational circles the logic of salaries based on qualifications would not cause major protest. After all, falling numbers in white enrolment meant that educational expenditure on resources was less likely to rise. Thus teachers' salaries were not threatened. Again the educational qualification gap between black and white teachers was so great that it would take some years for parity to be achieved by black teachers.

The neglect of teacher education does not mean that the report had no implications for it. It has been pointed out earlier that the use of technology in particular, was seen as helping the teacher to manage rather than teach. The implication of this was that the teacher's knowledge would be substituted by technology. Indeed, the recommendation on curriculum stresses the importance of a pre-packaged curriculum to help teachers who are dealing with large classes. In this sense large classes are to be managed rather than reduced. Furthermore the emphasis on science, mathematics and language instruction meant that other subjects were marginalised as unimportant for the educational development of the country. This implied that in-service education would concentrate on

maths, science and English. Therefore the in-service education would also take a technicist path with emphasis placed on the acquisition of subject knowledge and appropriate skills to deliver a 'teacher-proof' curriculum.

From this analysis it is possible to argue that the de Lange Report sought to legitimate the political and economic discourses which were already presented in the Riekert and Wiehahn Reports. In these reports the economic rights of the 'insiders' were to be realised through the extension of educational opportunities. Access to education would inevitably lead to social and status mobility. Thus the creation of the black middle class was based on an educational premise. Education thus plays an important role in legitimating the status quo. But it is important to assess briefly other strategies that were employed by the government to legitimate its reformist discourse.

### **Education as a legitimating tool**

Weiler [1983:261] argues that:

*The intensity of the legitimacy problem and the state's desire to compensate for it seems particularly pronounced when it comes to education.*

The state adopts 'compensatory strategies' to compensate for legitimization deficit. These strategies are legalisation, participation, external legitimacy, and expertise.

First, the **legalisation strategy** involves an increasing role of judicial decisions in influencing educational policy. In the USA and West Germany courts and legislature have invaded decision-making territory that used to be the uncontested domain of the school administrators [Weiler 1983]. Unlike the US and West Germany, where courts have contested certain educational policies on the legal and constitutional grounds, in South Africa the legalisation took the form of the increased

role of parliamentary legislation as a source of educational policy. An example of this was the admission of black students in white private schools run by various denominations [e.g. Catholic, Anglican and Methodist]. In 1981, the Financial Relations Amendment Act gave statutory rights to the provincial councils to authorise and regulate the admission of black students to white private schools and to subsidise them. The 1983 government White Paper, while rejecting the concept of desegregation of schools, states that an exception should be made when dealing with white private schools. The desegregation policy on private schools should be viewed not only as a compensatory strategy but also as one arena where the state-business educational discourse converged. White private schools are generously funded by business. Randal [1981:5], investigating the financial support given by big business to the elite white schools from the beginning of the century concludes that:

*Capital, in the form of grants, donations, expertise and manpower, increasingly came to support the English private school system throughout the country, making it in effect an adjunct of private enterprise.*

In addition, the intent and purposes of the state, other than those concerned with compensatory legitimisation, have been advanced: the creation of a black middle class had also to be forged at school level. In most cases black students who attended white private schools were by and large children of professional groups like nurses, teachers, lecturers and white collar civil servants. This group makes about 4% of the economically active black middle class [Giliomee 1982]

Furthermore, a majority of white private schools are in the urban areas, benefiting the minority of the 'insiders' [blacks who reside in the urban areas of 'white' South Africa]. The majority of both the 'insiders and outsiders' [the latter constitute over 70% of the black population in

rural areas, [White Paper 1983] were left in the cold. The legalisation of mixed private schools had an inherently urban bias, thus fitting the reform pattern which explicitly perceived South African problems as urban-derived. Therefore solutions were to be found in that context.

Another important area of legislation has been in the funding of both non-governmental and governmental educational initiatives. Business was allowed to fund educational projects.

Second is the **expertise strategy** which entails the power and status accorded to experts' knowledge, research studies and experimentation in legitimating educational policy. A classic example of this strategy in South Africa has been the use of experts' knowledge defined as 'objective and scientific'. The involvement of academics in educational policy too, gave further weight to government reforms. Ostensibly scientific research reports such as the de Lange, Syncom and Buthelezi Reports, shaped the education reforms of the 1980s. All three reports drew heavily on the 'experts' knowledge and the 'objectivity' of the scientific research rather than the:

*... collective wisdom of experience which formed the basis of the legitimacy of previous policy documents such as the Eiselen Report.*  
[Buckland 1982:23]

These experts included academics [from both the liberal and the Afrikaner tertiary institutions], education bureaucrats and representatives of business [see Appendix3C: List of the participants of the main committee of the de Lange Commission].

The production of a range of statistical information did not only confirm unequal educational provision, but served also as a legitimating tool enabling the state to restructure the policy discourse without endangering its position in the eyes of both the white and black



communities. To the white community, particularly within the business and liberal sectors, 'objective' evidence echoed their arguments for change in the education system. The liberal and business debate was that more educational resources for blacks would address educational inequality and resolve the crisis. The '*more of the same*' motto as Nasson [1990:154] observes is a cosy one, for it implicitly calls for black schools to be given a greater helping hand with books and buildings, while all other mechanisms of social control are left intact.

It was envisaged [by the tripartite alliance, government, business and military] that the proposed incremental provision in education would gain currency. Urban blacks would view these shifts as a measure of goodwill from an 'enlightened' government. This would obviously polarise views and blur the lines between transformation and amelioration. Indeed, polarisation was partly achieved. This is clearly reflected in a comment made by a teacher on students' continual rejection of Bantu Education, despite the government's limited attempts to provide learning materials:

*Sometimes you really wonder what these children want, they are given all sorts of books to use, they turn around and burn them.... they tell you its government propaganda, everything these days is propaganda. You know there is a saying in Zulu: **Umntu akabongi, namhlanje umnika isandla ngakusasa ufuna ingalo yakho** [a person is not grateful, today you give a hand, tomorrow s/he wants your arm] .* [Malinga]

This suggests two things about the reception of reforms in the black community. First of these is that blacks are not a homogeneous group. In most studies they are treated as a '*unified revolutionary and radical force*' [Saul and Gelp 1981]. This obscured contradictions and controversies inherent in the struggle against apartheid. There is yet great scope to be covered in terms of research in relation to different opinions within the

black community during apartheid. Secondly, the logic of the educational discourse and the line of arguments presented by liberals and business that more resources were needed in black schools was perceived as common-sense in some black quarters. At a time of great socio-economic uncertainty, the logic of redistribution of educational resources with the aim of enhancing the social and economic mobility of urban blacks made good sense to struggling parents. To most of them this presented itself as an opportunity rather than a right, given centuries of explicitly-stated limits on black advancement. The common-sense discourse is thus one feature of a depoliticised educational arena. The other is a conscious manipulation of people's anxieties about the future of their children. Apple [1989:7] makes this point more succinctly when analysing educational shifts in the USA and Britain. He writes:

*Both Reaganism and Thatcherism recognised so clearly, to win in the state you must also win in civil society ... they operated directly on real and manifestly contradictory experiences of a large portion of the population.*

Third, is the *participation strategy* which calls for the involvement of citizens in educational processes. The state tolerates or institutes various schemes for citizen participation. A classic example of this strategy in advanced capitalist countries is parental involvement. This, and many mechanisms employed to encourage this phenomenon, is seen as a way in which the state tries to cope with emerging citizens' initiatives [Weiler *ibid.* 273]. In South Africa the participation phenomenon has been narrowly conceived. The state-business-military alliance sets the limit on who is eligible for participation in the policy discourse. Since the problems have been framed in economic terms, with education facilitating this, the state excluded teachers, parents, affected communities while providing a necessary mechanism for the participation of business, academics,



bureaucrats and civil servants. As Buckland [1982] observed, there was only one practising teacher in these restructuring proceedings, otherwise they were represented by people who were not engaged in the classroom.

The exclusion of students, parents and black community leaders, and the inclusion of experts, was achieved through various processes that operated to narrow ideological, class, gender and racial positions as represented in this discourse. Narrow participation should be viewed in relation to the historical *de facto*: entrenched white male control. As such, the participation strategies in South Africa were employed within the parameters of this ideological construct. Strategies to 'purchase' legitimacy, to use Weiler's words, manifested themselves in a particular manner in South Africa. Despite narrow participation and the rhetoric surrounding it, an important shift in educational policy discourse was established. The formulation of the education policy was no longer an exclusive domain of the government but included other dominant groups.

The fourth strategy is *external legitimation*. This involves an attempt to formulate strategies which mobilise certain participants in the international system in order to bolster legitimacy of the state in a given individual society [Jansen 1990a]. In South Africa external legitimation was achieved through the role of international funding agencies [e.g. the British Council, USAID]. The state turned a blind eye to the activities of international donor agencies and in some respect tended to encourage them. Key players in this field were the foreign departments of western governments: [Britain, USA, Scandinavia, Canada, Australia and other European countries] northern NGOs [church and community based organisations, e.g. Oxfam and Christian Aid] and overseas businesses [e.g. the Ford Foundation, Shell].

The activities of these agencies took three dimensions. The first of these was the funding of educational initiatives in black education. The focus was on teacher development, pre-school or educare vocational training, youth centres, rural and urban development, health education, provision of libraries and workers' education. In this category of activities, the proposals and the policy of the concerned project was locally derived. While there are some conditions attached to funding [for example the evaluation of projects on a continual basis], directors of these projects [who are usually locals] oversee the activities of the project planning to implementation, with little interference from donors.

The second dimension was closely related to the first and involved the setting up of educational projects either to complement formal education or to provide an alternative to it. The most notable of these were the Molteno project and the Educational Resource project based at SACHED. In these instances the overseas personnel, with the help of locals, run the projects. In most cases the directors were overseas staff. The co-existence of alternative educational activity with Bantu Education pointed to a compensatory strategy which tried to demonstrate to the international community that the South African government of the 1980s was receptive to global thinking and that it recognised the importance of this association.

The third area was bursary and scholarship awards for blacks to pursue undergraduate or postgraduate degrees either in South Africa or abroad.

International donor agencies have played an important role in legitimating the reform discourse. Their involvement in various educational schemes satisfied a need for external validation and therefore

connecting South African educational discourse with the '*global knowledge system*' [Altbach 1987]. The tolerance and rationalism were clearly directed to western investors who had lost faith with the government in its handling of economic, political and educational crises. In addition, the intention was to counter growing calls by anti-apartheid critics and campaigners abroad for disinvestment and the isolation of the country, including academic and cultural boycotts.

A second case of external legitimation was the principles of the de Lange Report. The educational principles embodied in the report embraced a curious amalgam of a rhetoric educational discourse of post-war Britain and America [equality of opportunity] juxtaposed with features of a 1980s technocratic approach to educational policy in these countries [efficient managerial controlled systems, parental control, educational technology]. The principle of equality of opportunity and the technocratic rationality discourse appealed to both the liberal and the new right audiences abroad. Such is reflected in Crocker's [1981:227] address which was a response to the de Lange Report.

*In the context of changes in the South African Government's perceptions of its educational goals, an opportunity exists for the United States and other like-minded nations to play a helpful role in meeting the educational needs of disadvantaged black South Africans*

In addition, these principles enabled the South African government to solicit the support and backing of its strong allies who, in turn, saw education as a significant terrain from which political stability could be launched. As Crocker [1981:228] commented:

*In a sense the choice facing South Africa and those who would influence it lies in part between the battlefield and classroom. Certainly failure in the latter will hasten violent confrontation on the former... in that sense the classroom suggests itself as one very important key to our policy towards South Africa...not with*

*a rhetorical position, but rather with the requirements of a considered and sustained foreign policy initiative reflecting balanced US interests and contributing to peaceful resolution of South Africa's unsettled political agenda*

In summary, it is possible to conclude that the reformist agenda was a top-down initiative involving the very actors whose role in maintaining apartheid have been well documented. The central belief held by these players [military, business, government and some international donors] was that the solutions to the legitimization and economic crises as these were reflected in black education, could be found within the existing structures. Substantial injection of finances in various forms was seen as a key to purchasing a peaceful resolution to South Africa's socio-political problems. More important is the curious consensus between these players who represent different interests. This consensus centres on the role of education in society: to serve the manpower needs of the country and provide an alternative to radical changes advocated by the majority of oppressed communities.

## **Conclusion**

The foregoing analysis suggests that the crises of legitimization and accumulation were precipitated by the internal and external socio-economic and political forces. Internally the contradictions of apartheid created political and economic conditions that were to be a Trojan horse to white minority rule. The tentacles of these contradictions impacted on the education and generation crises that were characterised by school boycotts, mismanagement and hidden resistance. All of these undermined the logic of apartheid education leading to the breakdown of the teaching and learning cultures. Externally the global changes in the financial systems



and geo-political changes in Sub-Sahara Africa undermined both financial and political premises of institutionalised segregation.

A state in crisis responded in much the same way by bringing piecemeal changes that left the *status quo* intact. The reformist programme sought to bring gradual changes based on market forces. But, in a South African context, market forces were overwhelmed by the political realities, and as such could not be implemented in the same manner as in other capitalist countries. Years of segregation and systematic oppression undermined the economic bases of reforms. Instead, the country sunk further into crisis leading to business abandoning the 'business of business' motto and seeking a political solution to South Africa's problems. Despite the recognition that there would have to be fundamental changes in political reasoning, the major players [government, military and business] continued to believe that a lasting solution would be found within the existing structures.

In education there are discernible elements which suggest that there were continuities as well as discontinuities. These are clearly reflected in the strategies adopted to legitimate the government's reformist agenda. The de Lange Report's continual reference to vocational and skill-oriented education was not new in the South African context. This is a debate which has been echoed throughout the history of government provision of education. The relationship between education and industry dates back to the colonial era, and was clearly reflected in the school curriculum. Other educational continuities were the emphasis placed on language instruction as well as educational diversification.

Educational discontinuities are characterised by incremental and ameliorationist logic: black education was to be improved through



incremental provision. This suggests that what was wrong with black education was a lack of resources, rather than the ideological underpinnings of educational provision in segregated South Africa. The use of 'experts' to confirm the pragmatic logic of reformist policy discourse was basically a new phenomenon.

In all three spheres of reform [political, economic and educational] there is one binding factor of continuity, that is the exclusion of the black communities from decisions and debates. The spheres continued to be a preserve of white terrain. The fundamental premise of this was that South African problems could be solved by the white value system and reasoning mechanism. This belief undermined the cultural values of the black community.

Having examined the historical context and politics of teacher education it is possible to review theoretical perspectives on the dialectical relationship between the preparation of teachers, teacher professionalism and teacher development in the international context; and social and political interest in society. These perspectives are discussed in the next chapter.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Theoretical Perspectives**

*We think of theory as describing our daily conversations, as an expression of our hopes and a conveyance of the facts that surround us; and practice as a means of accomplishment and learning. But educational theories can serve other social functions.* [Popkewitz, 1987b:19]

## **Introduction**

The analysis presented in previous chapters seems to suggest that pre-service education is underpinned by theoretical assumptions, which have the effect of distancing it from contextual realities. In South Africa, for example, despite the disintegration of the apartheid system and the crisis in black schools in the 1980s, teacher training colleges continue to operate relatively normally. What explanation can be attached to this? It becomes significant to assess the theoretical underpinnings of teacher education in an international context, which will necessitate an understanding of the assumed political neutrality of teacher education and to examine the social interests served by this. Therefore the first section of this chapter reviews the models of teacher education and the epistemological assumptions inherent in them. It also examines the role of teacher education in legitimating socio-political reforms in societies that are undergoing change.

In the previous chapters it was noted that the organisation and administration of teacher education is controlled through bureaucratic structures. This practice shapes the society's view of teaching, for example; in every society the debate about the professional status of teachers is a subject of media, teachers' organisations, and government interest. This debate is a direct outgrowth of pre-service training; did it prepare teachers to be classified as professionals? In addition, do conditions of work and the

context within which teaching takes place allow teachers to be autonomous and control the dictates of their work like other professionals [e.g. medical doctors]? Answers to these questions have direct implications for how professional development is organised. As Blackman [1989:2] argues, *'professional development is a direct growth of the way in which we view teachers'*.

These issues are examined in section two which elaborates on two major concepts: professionalism versus proletarianisation. These concepts are examined so their relevance to teaching can be established. From this a discussion is generated on whether they can be applied in a South African context to aid understanding of the status of black teachers. For example, does the concept of professionalism relate to the working conditions of black teachers? Finally, in the light of the foregoing analysis, section three examines theoretical perspectives and research contributions on teacher development in an international context. This is particularly important if one is to relate developments in South Africa to those recurring elsewhere in the world.

## **Section One**

### **Teacher education as a legitimating agency**

The emergence of critical perspectives in education has implicitly and explicitly challenged a view that teacher education is primarily concerned with effective and efficient ways of teaching. Critical theorists [Beyer, 1987, 1988, Beyer and Zeichner 1987, Carr 1989, Esland 1971, Popkewitz 1987, Zeichner 1983] argue that the discourse of teacher education embraces language, meanings and values that legitimate and maintain the status quo. Popkewitz [1987b] distinguishes two layers of meaning in teacher education. First is the 'surface layer of meaning'

which is derived from the public view of failure and success. On this layer the concern is about standards and admission criteria and qualifications. The effectiveness as well as the quality of teacher education is judged on the basis of these. The raising of qualifications and educational standards are viewed as the only criterion which determines whether a teacher education programme is successful or not. Second is the 'underlying layer of meaning' which is concerned with the models of teacher education. Embedded in these models are theories, activities and perceptual issues concerning the preparation of teachers, and it is in this layer that 'codes of culture' [Popkewitz 1987b:4] governing teacher education are located. These codes are rarely examined and are taken for granted. However, an examination of this layer illuminates the social pattern of teacher education and its role in legitimating the status quo. This suggests that a critical examination of the models of teacher education can necessitate an understanding of underlying assumptions about knowledge, the role of teacher education in the facilitation of the state's agenda, social conflicts and contestations, and the activities which reproduce social inequalities based on class, gender and race. In order to understand arguments from critical theory it is important to assess models of pre-service teacher education.

### **Models of pre-service teacher education and their epistemological assumptions**

A review of the literature suggests that pre-service teacher education is broadly the same all over the world. The curriculum of teacher education contains three components; the academic [preparation in the subject that a teacher is to teach], theoretical discourse [philosophy and history of education, sociology and psychology] and teaching practice



[micro-teaching and limited practice in the classrooms]. Nonetheless, approaches to teacher education do differ in certain respects and such differences are based on ideological orientations towards learning and teaching. Three broad orientations have been identified: the behaviourist, [referred to as Competency-Based Teacher education {CBTE}], personalistic [referred to as Liberal-Oriented Teacher education {LOTE}] and critical inquiry approach [referred to as Progressive and Critically-Based Teacher Education {PCBTE}].

**[1] the behaviourist orientation**– This approach is competency-based, and has dominated teacher education since the 1960s. It rests upon the foundations of positivist epistemology and behaviourist psychology. Teachers who are trained under this orientation are expected to master the competencies and skills in order to perform certain tasks, such as planning a lesson. Teachers' competency is determined at various points during the preparation period in relation to three areas: their knowledge, teaching behaviour and pupils payoff-knowledge [Diamond 1991:9]. In this sense teacher education is a metaphor of 'production' [Kliebard 1972]. Teachers master and reproduce the learned competencies.

In this approach learning and teaching assume a top-down approach. The implication is that a teacher is inert and a passive recipient of knowledge. This knowledge is presented as abstract facts. The message communicated to teachers is that there is a stable body of knowledge, skills and fixed approaches to learning and teaching. [Diamond 1991:10]. Furthermore, there is an implicit view that knowledge can be broken down into manageable bits and presented in an effective and neutral manner; for example, Popkewitz [1987b:4] argues that the lesson plan [a

medium through which knowledge is broken down into manageable pieces] is not neutral. It carries social messages that are as important as cognitive concerns. After an observation of a mathematics lesson in an American inner school he concludes that there was a difference between the lesson plan objectives and the classroom interaction. Classroom interaction reflected the teacher's feelings about the undesirable 'traits' the children had, and these needed to be tackled before achievement could be obtained.

Such issues are rarely brought into the surface in competency- based approaches. Instead knowledge is presented as an abstraction of facts which have little connection with the social forces. This practice is derived from a view that education is science. It is believed that science provides society with the knowledge and expertise needed for a better life; i.e. that scientific thought is not just restricted to the physical and biological world, but has been applied to the social world as well. In education scientific laws predict and control the learning and teaching outcome; for instance, in South Africa the theoretical discourse of teacher education, Fundamental Pedagogics, is based on a view that education is science. As the proponents of this theory state:

*Pedagogics is the theory based on education with a universal objective. Its content embraces scientific insights with regard to the pedagogic, that is, everything essentially has to do with educating a child until he has attained adulthood. Such scientific insights are generally valid and invariable.*

[du Plooy and Kilian 1980:34]

On the basis of this view, knowledge is given rather socially constructed. It is also presented as a neutral set of valid facts which are not connected to political and social interests. The 'zones of knowledge' [Esland 1971:79]

mapped out by this view ignore the complex process of negotiation and interpretations of meaning which constitute the social world.

[2] **personalistic orientation** – The epistemological foundations of this approach rest on phenomenology, and perceptual and development psychology. The underlying metaphor is one of organic growth rather than of mechanistic functioning [Diamond 1991:10]. Teachers' competency is equated with psychological maturity. Within this approach teachers are viewed as unique individuals whose biographies shape and influence their development. The notions of individualism are derived from liberal orientations which advocate a society based on individual rights. In teacher education these views are expressed through a curriculum that utilises teachers' interests and predisposition. This approach is less prescriptive about how teachers should teach: it is believed rather that the skill will emerge when a teacher is self-confident. The emphasis is on subject-matter rather than skills. This practice is more prevalent in universities classified as liberal arts colleges, as in the case of America. A teacher education programme that embraces the personalistic approach has both the core courses which every teacher follows, a wider opportunity for electives and an individual choice of major. The assumption is that when a teacher is free to travel, enter psychoanalysis, or take courses in whatever they please, he/she becomes a complete individual [Haberman 1989:50]. On the basis of their self-realisation [through academic studies] it is assumed that they will in turn have humanitarian concerns for others as individuals. Haberman [1989] argues that the emergence of liberal arts colleges in America was based on elitism which was defined as public service. As such the curriculum of teacher education recognises the need

for status without an awareness of its political meaning. This status has been upheld to distinguish the differences between colleges, which has led to the stratification of knowledge, on the basis of the history of the values of an institution. The promotion of individualism therefore went hand in hand with elitism. Teachers who are exposed to this approach tend to pursue academic interests and view this as enhancement of self rather than that of a community.

**[3] inquiry-oriented approach** – The emergence of critical theories in education shaped this orientation. Teacher education, like schooling, is viewed as being value-laden and promoting specific cultural meanings. Teachers are encouraged to reflect on their education and examine factors that shape and influence educational policies in general. A variety of concepts are generally associated with this orientation, such as, '*teacher innovators*' [Joyce 1972], '*teacher as action researcher*' [Carr and Kemmis 1986], '*teachers as inquirers*' [Bagenstons 1975], '*teachers as transformative intellectuals*' [Aronowitz and Giroux 1986]

In this approach knowledge is problematised and viewed as a socially constructed phenomena. Teachers are encouraged to examine their own as well as alternative perspectives from which to interpret social reality. Teacher education within this perspective is a metaphor of reinvention and liberation, the assumption is that a teacher who is engaged in the dialogue of critique has many skills. Teachers who approach education from social and political perspectives are enabled to deal with the demands of teaching, and will be able to confront social problems and injustices.



## Competing paradigms in pre-service education

In spite of the critiques that have proliferated regarding epistemological assumptions of positivism and its influence in the social sciences and educational studies, as well as the dangers in teacher education that take on a technical and competency/performance based orientation, there is little evidence that such assumptions are being seriously altered. Instead, there is evidence that when alternative orientations are employed, they still embrace assumptions inherent in competency-based approaches. For example, Zeichner [1983] observed that in the USA amidst the introduction of alternative models the behaviourist approach continues to dominate the discourse of teacher education. He remarks:

*... despite the reluctance of teacher educators to affiliate themselves with this conception of competency-based teacher education, the paradigm is still alive and well in US today in the form of the typical student teaching experience.*

[Zeichner 1983:5]

Cornbleth [1987] confirms Zeichner's remarks and offers another explanation for the continuation of CBTE. She links CBTE to the concept of 'myth' and identifies three myths which reflect the pervasiveness of behaviourist concerns in the teacher education curriculum. The myth of thinking skills, the right answer and stages and style. The myth of thinking skills assumes that thinking is composed of discrete cognitive skills and that these skills are generic [Cornbleth 1987:190]. The myth of a right answer assumes that a correct response from a student is an indication that learning has taken place, and this tends to promote rote learning and memorisation. As in the South African context teachers are not encouraged to develop independent analytic skills. As a result teachers who have been exposed to this form of learning at teacher training



colleges are trained to repeat back the memorised material but not to use it to solve problems [Cornbleth 1987:195]. The third myth is concerned with cognitive development, this is differentiated and categorised in stages. The assumption is that all people regardless of cultural background follow the same pattern of development. As such cognitive activities are assumed to be homogeneous. This practice is prevalent in the South African context. As has been seen in Chapter two, the introduction of American models of teacher education in South Africa was based on a view that development of blacks is similar to those of Black Americans. What has been missed is that cognitive development is context-dependent and culturally specific and cannot be divided into stages. The failure of students to conform to these stages and learning style results in 'labelling'.<sup>42</sup>

Competing paradigms were also observed in Zimbabwe during the transitional period from colonial rule to independence. Dzvimbo [1989] notes that the failure of a critical-oriented teacher education programme called the Zimbabwe Integrated Teacher Education Course [ZINTEC], was due to the co-existence of contending ideological affiliations.<sup>43</sup> In a state that was trying to rid itself of colonial education and struggling to create a multi-racial and egalitarian society the contestation over teacher education curriculum was even greater than in other countries. The colonial education was perceived by the majority of the population both black and white as maintaining higher educational standards. What the people needed was access to education not changes in the curriculum. Issues

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<sup>42</sup> Ethnographic studies [Willis 1977] suggests that the culture which students bring into the school setting is never recognised and students who fail to or conform to resist the 'official' culture are usually labelled as having learning difficulties.

<sup>43</sup> ZINTEC was a complete departure from colonial teacher education. ZINTEC teachers were involved in curriculum development and engaged their tutors in critical dialogue. This is partly due to the fact that the course was piloted in exile by the liberation movement which politicised the educational discourse.

related to the nature of knowledge and its relevance to the nation were ignored.

From this analysis it appears that teacher education is caught in a conflict between scientific paradigms and progressive ideologies. The conflicting models illustrate, as Popkewitz [1987b:21] argues:

*...how intellectuals affiliate with interests in society that seek to establish moral direction and will.*

The incorporation of progressive ideologies such as inquiry-oriented education serves to reconcile a conflict that is not confined to teacher education, but exists within a large horizon of social conflict. Research shows that the rise of a critical orientation is a result of progressive social movements.<sup>44</sup> Therefore teacher education is a discourse that exists through, and is conditioned by competing paradigms and ideologies that exist in society as large.

### **Teacher education and social inequalities**

A teacher education programme based on CBTE would serve another social function. The issues of social inequalities are rarely tackled, teachers are not sensitised to the socio-political context in which they have to perform their tasks. This context is characterised by class, gender and race inequalities. Social inequality on the bases of gender [Barton and Walker 1983, Delamont 1991, Acker 1988], class [Apple 1990, Entwistle 1978, Willis 1977] and race [Dube 1984, Gilroy 1987, McCarthy 1991, Troyna 1993] influenced and shaped educational outcomes.

Focusing on gender inequality, there has been increased research detailing the variety of ways gender discrimination pervades school life. In

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<sup>44</sup> For example the rise of Marxist orientation in sociological research in South Africa was a result of the threat of the Black Consciousness Movement [see Jubber 1983].

this research teachers' attitudes and treatment of girls and boys has been cited as manifestations of discrimination. For example, Clarricoates [1980] observed a teacher's reaction to a seven year old boy's preference for dolls to cars and baking to football:

*Mrs T: ... reads Michael's 'diary' for the morning: 'On Saturday I helped my Mum to bake a cake and I made the dress for my doll'. The teacher despairs: 'Couldn't you play football or something?'*

Similar studies [Delamont 1983, Deem 1980] found that teachers' management strategies promote gender discrimination:

*Stressing differences and rivalries between males and females is one common teacher strategy to manage and discipline pupils.*  
[Delamont 1983:96]

This practice as Delamont argues show that schools are more conservative about sex roles than the wider society. Part of the explanation for this can be attributed to teacher education. Research [Sikes 1993, 1991, Skelton 1987, 1989] suggests that teacher education reinforces gender stereotypes *via* the hidden and overt curriculum. Skelton's [1987] study found that while the course participants in a teacher training programme were committed to the principle of equality between sexes this commitment was not matched with the content of their course. The content of teacher education and the lecturers excluded issues of sexism in primary schools. In addition, she found that gender stereotypes were promoted through the evaluation of reading abilities. Girls were depicted as good readers, but poor in maths. She concludes that pre-service education does not provide gender-neutral information about children in primary schools; instead gender was used as an indication of educational abilities.

In another study Flintoff [1993] found that PE in teacher education plays an important role in the reproduction of gender relations. Evidence

from this study suggests that co-educational physical education does little to promote a positive image of female teachers and/or contribute to diminish gender differentiation and inequality within the profession. Instead, PE classes seem to provide a context for the exhibition of a strongly engendered interaction between teachers, with feminine activities and contributions being devalued and undermined [Flintoff 1993:88].

Other studies [Menter 1989, St Maurice 1987] suggest that teaching practice and the supervisor- teacher relationship marginalise gender issues and put forward a view that the issue is non-existent. For example, Menter 's [1989] study shows that teaching practice is characterised by 'stasis', a strong tendency to avoid tension and conflict. He found that student teachers and supervisors as well as college tutors avoided any influence or innovation that might upset the triadic relationship and the stability of the activity. Criticism of the current classroom or school practices with regards to sexism and racism is avoided. Besides the dominant concern to keep things smooth between elements in the triad, Menter found that the power imbalances were another factor which inhibit questioning by student teachers. The student- supervisor relationship is an unequal one and the students are aware of this: any criticism might jeopardise their chances of passing a course.

A similar practice has been observed in the US. St Maurice [1987] observed that the teacher-supervisor relationship in Clinical Supervision courses was governed by power relations. He writes:

*The clinical gaze with which clinical supervisors analyse a teacher in the classroom is no more real than the gaze of a parent, child, or teacher ... The gaze is asymmetrical: the subject as object may seem powerless to gaze back and question its majesty and authority. To do so would be called inappropriate, unrealistic and against improvement.*

[St Maurice 1987:246].



Commenting on gender organisation of the programme. He writes:

*The on-going domination of male hierarchy is not directly addressed. The recruitment of clinical supervisor was and remains dominated by males. The writing on clinical supervisions are silent about imbalance of power along gender lines in American schools.* [St Maurice 1987:247-248]

Amidst the plethora of studies on gender issues in teacher education, the experiences of black teachers in Britain in particular are rarely articulated. Most studies treat women as a homogenous group [see for example Acker 1983, de Lyon et al 1989]. The rise of black feminist movements in Europe and world-wide indicate that gender discrimination is a complex and dynamic subject, and cultural differences and backgrounds make it illusory to suggest that all women experience discrimination in the same way. Research [ Cock 1980, Hadebe 1988, Walker 1990] suggests that black women suffer double oppression; first as women in a patriarchal society; and second as blacks in a racist society. The dearth of research on the experiences of black teachers in teacher training colleges has rarely been recognised.

A recent study [Blair and Maylor 1993] shows that a black female point of view and experience is in the margins of gender and education research. A similar observation has been noted by Tomlinson [1983:67-68]:

*There is no literature in Britain discussing black women in University education or colleges, how they view their achievements, their problems , position and future. And whether they feel that their chances of combating 'double oppression' have been improved.*

With regard to racial inequality observations of a similar nature have been made [Siraj-Blatchford 1993, Menter 1989]. In 1988 the Equal Opportunities Commission in Britain found that teacher training institutions lacked a framework for implementing the equal opportunities programme [gender and race] in their courses. The investigation shows



that on paper there were encouraging prospects for good equal opportunities practice in both curriculum content and the organisation and management of the institution; however, *'the reality of the situation was less good'* [Equal Opportunities Commission 1989:7]. Similarly interviews by Blair and Maylor [1993] with black student teachers show that the curriculum did not address the racial inequality issues nor take account of the multi-cultural nature of British society. For example one of the interviewees commented [Blair and Maylor 1993:63]:

*We had to write an assignment on a scientist and he gave us a list of examples of people that we could study and towards the end of the lesson he said, 'Oh by the way, don't forget, because we got to be looking at multi-cultural things all the while, don't forget there are lots of non-white people who have created a lot of good inventions'. But he wasn't able to give an example, so he didn't encourage anybody to do it.*

The above comment does not only confirm the EOC findings, but also reveals the *laissez-faire* approach to issues of societal inequalities in teacher education. This shows a lack of commitment from the institutions and *'a deliberate neglect'* of information relating to black achievements many of which remain invisible in schools and colleges [ Blair and Maylor 1993].

The above assessment of teacher education models and their inherent epistemological assumptions, as well as the neglect and marginalisation of pillars of social inequality [i.e. class, gender and race], points to teacher education as one of the conservative agents which promotes a view that knowledge, teaching and learning are all value-free and reinforces 'through its neutral approach' social inequalities. A value-free neutral knowledge as pointed out earlier is a canon of control and power. The categories of learning and teaching are portrayed in objective terms and unconnected to political agendas. This points to the social

interests that enter into schooling and the preparation of teachers. Teacher education becomes a legitimating mechanism. Furthermore, as the above review shows, the critical stances adopted by humanist models are still locked within dominant categories. This suggests that the critique of schooling has failed to provide 'alternative' models that will fundamentally change current practices. Wexler [1982:279] provides an insight into such paradox. He argues:

*... critical analysis is still representation, representation and reflection are themselves the modes of thought, the ideologies which sustain the present. They challenge the autonomy of the object [knowledge], but quickly reposit it within a social structure. The representational mode prevents awareness of tenuousness, disjunction, interruption and possibility*

### **Teacher education and the agenda of the state**

Dzvimbo [1989] notes that in countries that are emerging from long revolutionary struggle the relationship between teacher education and the state becomes crucial. This is so because of the role teacher education plays in the dissemination of 'desirable' knowledge for 'nation building' [Nyerere 1967] and 'legitimizing the role of the state in educational provision' [Dale 1989, Jansen 1990b, 1991d]. Teacher education thus becomes inextricably linked to the political conflict and the agenda of the state as Dzvimbo [1989:17] points out:

*The teacher education system is part of the state and therefore embodies the contestations that go in the state. Like the state, it is a site of struggle between different classes, regions, and linguistic groups contesting for the form, content, and expansion of teacher education ... it has to work through residual categories [standards and elitist values] and emerging categories [expansion, democratisation and relevance of teacher education] and the existence of two kinds of state at the same conjuncture.*

Since the emergence of the 'New Right' in Britain and the US in the 1980s, similar observations have been made [Ball 1990, Dale 1989

Giroux and McLaren 1986]. In Britain, teacher education, the '*Cinderella of the English higher education system*' [Whitty *et al* 1987], has been subjected to more changes in public policy than any other section of that system. These changes are symbolised by the establishment of the Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education [CATE] which is responsible for the professional accreditation<sup>45</sup>. The CATE criteria for accreditation is that the teaching practice should form the greater part of the curriculum of teacher education. This, as Whitty *et al* [1987:169] argues, implied that teachers have little opportunity to engage in analytic study of educational policy, the status and importance of experience is increased and that of analysis is decreased. This critique is linked to the state reformist agenda. The state efforts to exercise greater control of teacher education has its roots in a vision of a 'desirable' social order. Teacher education should promote the view that 'know-how' is more important than theorising. These changes as been mentioned earlier revert back to CBTE.

It is possible to suggest that when the NP took over in 1948, teacher education became the most important area where the state agenda could be legitimated. Even during the process of the de Lange report pre-service teacher education was left intact as an exclusive domain of the state.

In the light of this analysis it can be argued that teacher education is not only enmeshed in the ideology of scientific objectivism and vocational rationality, it is also an agency that is used by the state to articulate educational policies which are connected to political and economic concerns and moral values.

Dale's [1989] detailed analysis of the state and education policy in Britain in the 1980s provides an in-depth understanding of education as

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<sup>45</sup>The 1993 Act has replaced CATE with Teacher Training Agency [TTA].

one of the 'state apparatuses' [Althusser 1971]. He argues that the state is not a neutral provider of education, but rather an active agent in legitimating [through education] its role as well as the needs of capital. The state is no longer seen as only an administrative and coercive apparatus. It is also an '*educative and formative*' agent [Apple 1989:12].

Another significant factor in the teacher education-state relationship is that this relationship becomes more pronounced during the periods of social dislocations. In the US and Britain the desire to bring teacher education under tighter control correlates with the state fiscal crisis. Teacher education becomes one of the arenas where a solution to these crises is sought. The Zimbabwean case shows that in societies that are undergoing significant change, the state relationship with teacher education is more overt and in most cases clearly defined. This is due to the nature of demands put to the state; for example, expansion of and access to education are normally two issues which a state is expected to address immediately. Such a demand has serious ramifications for state-teacher education relationships.

Having reviewed research contributions and theoretical explanations on the conception of pre-service teacher education, it is possible to turn to the question posed earlier: does the nature of pre-service education prepare teachers to be independent professionals? Since schools are controlled by the state can the concept of professionalism be applied to teaching? These issues are discussed in the next section.

## Section Two

### Teachers' work and the teaching context

#### Professionalism versus proletarianisation: a theoretical review

A review of the sociology of professions suggest that there is no coherent theoretical agreement on the precise definition of a 'professional' or 'professionalism'. In conventional terms, an ideal-type of profession as Larson [1977:xi] points out, has:

*The cognitive dimension, centred on the body of knowledge and techniques professionals apply in their work, and on the training necessary to master such knowledge and skills, the normative dimension covers the service orientation of professionals and their distinctive ethics, which justify the privilege of self-regulation granted by society, the evaluative dimension implicitly compares professions to other occupations, underscoring the professions singular characteristics of autonomy and prestige.*

Larson's work on the rise of professionalism has opened up a debate on the taken-for granted issue of professional autonomy. According to her, the ideal-type profession is drawn from the practice as well as the ideology of established professions like medicine and law. The notion of autonomy is unproblematically applied to new professions. Central to her thesis is that the emergence of any profession is linked to a specific historical epoch and its mode of production. Within this perspective it is theoretically unsound to claim that established and modern professions share similar attributes. For instance, the emergence of modern professions is a direct consequence of the rise and expansion of bureaucratic structures, the predominance of science and technology, the multifaceted nature of the state and the changing nature of the mode of production. These contextual realities have impacted directly on the working conditions of these



professions. In most cases modern professions, and to a lesser extent some established professions, operate within heteronomous organisations and are subjected to the rules and regulations of these institutions. In such structures the claim of professional expertise falls short of asserting professional autonomy, but rather:

*... it borrows from the general ideology of professionalism to justify techno-bureaucratic power.* [Larson 1977:179]

The contradictory location of modern professionals within the occupational structure of the capitalist order and their loss of work autonomy led theorists like Braverman [1974] to define these professionals as 'educated proletariats', or a 'new working class'. What this suggests is that in practice, salaried or waged professionals have more or less similar traits with the shop-floor worker, such as the selling of labour to the capitalist employer or the state, exposure to the organisational dimensions of alienation, lack of control over key financial resources, intensification of labour, rigidification of the division of labour and routinisation of tasks. However, other theorists, [Derber 1982, Friedman 1977], have cautioned against generalisation on this issue and have pointed out that the 'educated proletariat' experience loss of control over their work differently from the industrial workers. This difference is shaped and influenced by the professionals' place on the mental-manual labour divide. As Derber [1982:195] puts it:

*Professionals may be becoming workers, but in this period they appear to be a new type not adequately conceptualised in existing Marxist theory, unlike industrial workers, they maintain their 'craft' skills and their relative autonomy over the technical aspects of their work.*

Thus, the proletarianisation of the professional need not be strictly equated with that of an industrial worker. It affects professional groups in

different ways at different times in history. Derber [1982:200] seeking to disentangle the theoretical confusion concerning the 'educated proletariats', distinguishes two forms of proletarianisation: ideological and technical. The former refers to the worker's loss of control over decisions regarding the goals of her/his work while the latter suggests the loss of control over implementation of decisions. Derber [1982:212] outlines this in his thesis on professional proletarianisation:

*At its core is the notion that the ideological proletarianisation of professionals reflects fundamentally new systems of labour control that are emerging in advanced or post industrial capitalism. These systems seek to achieve labour discipline and productivity not by stripping from the workers the technical knowledge and discretion that potentially allows them to obscure management's goals, but rather by encouraging technical skill and autonomy and in so doing, leading the worker to ideologically identify his or her own interests with those of the firm and develop internalised motivation and discipline.*

Derber enables us to view 'professionalism' not only as a construct that obscures the working conditions of many professionals, but also as a lever that secures loyalty and motivation. This loyalty is derived from the power structure of the society in which the capitalist and the professional occupy dominant positions. As Derber *et al* [1990:120-21] note:

*The traditional independent institutions of professionalism and capitalism partially melded, enhancing the power and stability of both in a hybrid class structure ... power is exercised of, by, and for the two partners – one senior, the other junior. Professionals and capitalists enjoy an open relationship that, despite growing intimacy, allows each partner to remain committed to its own identity and interest.*

Derber's argument has fundamental weaknesses. First, not all professionals embrace capitalist practices. The capitalist-professional relationship is shaped and influenced by power relations within society [i.e. race, class and gender relations], how power is distributed in society is suggestive of how professionals conduct themselves. The nature of power

distribution can make professionals either junior or senior partners, or totally undermine their expertise.<sup>46</sup> The boundaries of this power create spaces for contestation and conflict. Given the nature of the capitalist state and its hierarchical occupational structure tailored along class, gender and racial lines, it is rather easy to make a claim that the ideology of professionalism warrants attentions as a source of support for inequities and unjust social relations [Derber, et al 1990]. Or that professionalism should be 'understood as a petit- bourgeois strategy for advancing and defending a relatively privileged position' [Finn *et al* 1977:167]. Such statements should be applied with caution, specifically on the basis that professions are a social product.

It is therefore imperative to problematise the ideology of professionalism by placing it within the context of resistance, contestation, struggle and reproduction. The presence of the human element within any ideological sphere makes it possible and theoretically justifiable to avoid deterministic and reductionistic approaches. Human agency can legitimate/ reproduce, challenge and transform social relations.

Within this viewpoint professionals are seen as human beings whose relationship with the structures of capitalist society is never as straightforward and harmonious as suggested by Derber and colleagues, but rather contradictory and dynamic. Like hegemony, it is never a static

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<sup>46</sup> In America where the economy is solidly capitalist professionals [except a tiny minority] use their expertise as a claim for economic dominance, thus accepting the doctrine that owners, by virtue of their financial investment are entitled to profits and final decision making power. The logo firms [partnerships of two or more doctors lawyers, etc.] are a classic case. The situation is different in former communist countries where the nature of power distribution suppressed professional expertise. The 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre in China is a case study of how state power is used to undermine professionals.

state of intellectual domination or subjugation, it is always in a state of contestation because of:

*... the complex contradictory and discordant ensemble which constitute the superstructure and the ability of subordinate groups to produce their own interpretations and meanings.*

[Grundy 1989:88]

Indeed, there are documented cases of professionals who have challenged the entire ethos of stratified capitalist socio-economic and political structure. These professionals sincerely sought to end exploitation, poverty and human suffering.

Derber [1982], Braverman [1974] and Larson [1977] have failed to conceptualise the state-professional relationship. They have concerned themselves with capital-labour issues which, when treated in isolation from other social structures, limit our insights into the complexities of professional life. In South Africa for example, [where the socio-economic and political structure embraces racial oppression, authoritarianism, advance capitalism and selective socialism] how useful is the concept of 'educated proletariat' in understanding the nature of professional autonomy and the relationships they [professionals] have with the state, capital and subordinate groups. White professionals in South Africa, particularly those involved in the social sciences, have developed theories that have justified the existence of the apartheid state [du Toits 1981, Gordon 1991]. For example, according to the World Health Organisation [WHO] [1977] and the American Psychiatric Association [1979], many South African psychiatrists have socially and politically abused the practice. They have modified their practice to suit the racial state, and in dealing with the opponents of the apartheid state, they have concealed or contributed to the plight of tortured political prisoners. Similar allegations were made by the former political prisoner, Breytenbach [1983:246-7]:



*These perverted practitioners of the spurious science of psychology do not have it as their first priority to help the prisoner who may be in need of it. They are the lackeys of the system. Their task very clearly, is to be the psychological component of the general strategy of unbalancing and disorientating the political prisoner*

In law and medicine a significant number of professionals in these fields collaborated with the state to undermine basic human rights. Those who questioned unethical practice or exposed the state's 'dirty tricks' were assassinated or imprisoned.<sup>47</sup>

This implies that the relationship professionals have with either the state or capital and labour cannot be sufficiently conceptualised within the 'educated proletariat' thesis, since its critique is too narrow. Its analysis relies too heavily on a single cause of explanation [that professionals' relationship with social groups is determined by changes in the mode of production]. Such explanation retreats from the exploration of the political and cultural contexts in which racial groups encounter each other within the framework of domination and prejudice. Without an examination of these contexts it is difficult to understand how the ideology of professionalism operates at a racial and gender level and who benefits from it. Are black professionals treated the same as their white counterparts? How about their relationship with the state, capital and other groups in society? In a racially stratified society like South Africa, in which class do black professionals belong: are they the upper class of the black community, or the middle class of the entire society? An examination of these questions will enable us to understand that proletarianisation and professionalism are complex and multi-faceted

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<sup>47</sup> Examples of such cases are Drs. Neil Aggett [died in prison], David Webster [assassinated by security forces], Rubero and wife [assassinated after giving testimony on the Mamelodi massacre] and Mxenge and his wife [assassinated for defending political activists in trials].



processes that encompass all forms of social conflict. Indeed, racial domination and gender inequality are fundamentally secure in the cultural sphere of all societies.<sup>48</sup> There is a need to reconceptualise the theories of professionalism and proletarianisation within a radical scholarship. This will enable us to delineate how race, class and gender interacts with economic, political and cultural manifestations and shape the ideology of professionalism and the process of proletarianisation. Professionalism and proletarianisation are multifaceted and complex processes and it is important to view them in their many ramifications. Indeed, while it is necessary to see the ideology of professionalism as one of the social tools used by the powerful groups to maintain the status quo, it is also necessary to look at it as a weapon that can be utilised to transform some aspect of social relations and empower the subordinate groups in society [e.g. women].

Having assessed some theoretical difficulties with the concepts of professionalism and proletarianisation, it is possible to look at how the ideology of professionalism and the thesis of proletarianisation has been applied in teaching.

### **Professionalism and proletarianisation as applied to teaching**

A review of literature on teaching and professionalism points to three categorisations of teaching. The first view asserts that teaching has never been a 'profession' and yet it is undergoing serious changes such as rationalisation like other white collar jobs [Densmore 1987:139]. This view

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<sup>48</sup> South Africa is seen as a '*bizarre case among industrialised states*' [Yudelman 1983:5] because of institutionalised racism. However the 1990s as they evolve are demonstrating that South Africa '*represents in almost caricatured form the ugly side of most developing and developed industrial states*' [Yudelman *ibid.*]. The problems of racial antagonism and racial inequality continue to plague societies such as Britain, America and Europe.

borrow its support from the historical research on the development of teaching as a profession. The research in varying degrees as well as in different social contexts has identified four major issues that are related to the deprofessionalisation of teaching [Apple 1987a 1987b, Acker 1983, Purvis 1981].

First, as Mattingly [1987:43] points out, that the concept of teaching as a calling rather than a profession:

*... a matter of moral commitment rather than a product of institutional practice,*

has tarnished the image of teachers as a professional group in their own right. This historical quasi-religious association is still held by the public and in some religious societies by teachers themselves. This is illustrated in this teacher's comment:

*Some of these young teachers do not understand you know why I go out of my way to teach even when it's school holidays. I was called I remember, by my great grandfather. It was in a dream and I have to fulfil that call. What the government does or do not do is not my business, but I'm here to lead eh ... an African child. Perhaps all teachers should be like eh ... Moses who liberated the children of Israel. That's my belief you know.*

[Mantoa].

Second, the process of teacher preparation is highly fragmented. The historical division between universities and colleges of education created class, gender and race inequalities within the profession. In England, for instance, the Board of Education in 1918 introduced regulations that encouraged the universities to specialise in four year courses while the colleges were required to focus on two year non-degree courses [Parry and Parry 1981:351]. A majority of male students with a tiny percentage of female intake tended to take university degrees. In most cases university candidates came from upper middle class backgrounds. College intake was by and large the opposite of the above criteria. This division [unequal and

status oriented training] propagated a notion that college training has a character of 'apprenticeship' and a part of the skilled subordinate group rather than that of 'professionals'. University graduates on the other hand took their university background and their general social background as unquestionable claims to professional status rather than their training *per se*. The effects of segregated teacher education has been felt in teacher organisations. At a global level, separate teacher organisations represent teachers according to rank, race, and gender.<sup>49</sup> The formal and institutionalised divisions within teacher organisations have:

*... weakened both the position of teachers' unions vis-a-vis the state and the struggle for teachers' professionalism.*

[Parry and Parry 1981:353]

Third, the feminisation of teaching tended to undermine the persistent effort to make teaching a profession. Teaching, particularly at primary schools become synonymous with '*motherhood, nurturing and extension of the domestic sphere*' [Apple 1987b: 66]. Mattingly [1987: 42] succinctly sums up the effects of this development on teaching:

*The reliance on women was predicated on the notion that teaching was a more natural gift and was not something for which one could actual train. This distinction solidified into a principle of 'woman's special sphere'. The values of 'domesticity' separated a female spiritual authority from woman's worldly dependent role without acknowledging any implicit contradiction. This set of cultural conceptions rather than curricular or institutional distinctions made the meaning of 'profession a debatable problem for teachers into the present century.*

Educational sociologists [Apple 1987, Lawn and Ozga 1988] have argued that the high concentration of women in teaching has made it

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<sup>49</sup> It is common practice in most countries to have separate unions for headteachers and classroom teachers. In extreme cases like South Africa teachers' unions are also organised on both ethnic and racial lines.

susceptible to external control. Work done by women in patriarchal societies is subject to rationalisation and routinisation with managerial positions being filled by men. Thus the feminine character of teaching tends to undermine the professional status of teachers.

Fourth, when the state takes over the administrative structures of education, teachers:

*... have neither the formal status of civil servants nor the self-government of autonomous professionals.*

[Parry and Parry 1981: 350]

The nature of bureaucratic machinery narrowed teacher autonomy and full professional realisation; teachers were subordinate to administrators; a trend that continues to this day. The position of teachers within the bureaucratic structure resulted in teaching being dependent on their unions and unionist strategies to advance their professional status.

The second line of argument is that teaching is a semi-profession, and has the potential for full professional status. Proponents of teacher professionalism [Carr and Kemmis 1986, Grundy 1989, Walker 1991] have proposed a number of strategies that will enhance the professional status of teaching. Carr and Kemmis [1986:162] have articulated '*action research*' aimed not only at the professionalisation of teaching but also at making teaching a critical-oriented occupation:

*Action research is simply a form of self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own practices ... In education, action research has been employed in school-based curriculum development, professional development, school improvement programmes and systems planning and policy development.*

Action research, thus, encompasses the notions of empowerment [through critical teaching and learning methods, teachers can empower themselves and the students they teach], liberation [by working as a critical



collectivity at institutional level they can challenge bureaucracy] and transformation [as critical theorists of their educational context, they have a potential of transforming the schooling as well as the broader social context].

The third view concerns itself with the issue of control over curricular issues and teaching itself. The basic thesis is that there was a previous period in history when teachers experienced full control over their work [Densmore 1987:139]. The 'golden age' of teacher autonomy according to this view is under threat or eroded, with teachers losing control over the dictates of their work. As Apple and Jungck [1992:20] point out:

*Rather than moving in the direction of increased autonomy, in all too many instances the daily lives of teachers in classrooms of many nations are becoming ever more controlled and ever more subject to administrative logic that seek to tighten the reins on the processes of teaching and curriculum. Teacher development, co-operation and 'empowerment' may be the talk, but centralisation and standardisation and rationalisation may be the strongest tendencies.*

Teachers' work is portrayed as becoming more routinised and deskilled. The introduction of performance appraisal schemes in developed countries has been viewed not as a tool designed to promote professionalism, but rather as a process that enhances the 'bureaucratisation of teachers' professional judgement' [Dale 1989:133]. Other aspects of deprofessionalisation of teachers include the proliferation of pre-packaged material with step-by-step methods of instruction and assessment and the intensification of teachers' workload through reforms like the introduction of testing, recording of teacher performance and continual in-service training on school or classroom management. [see Cole 1984, Hargreaves 1992a, 1992b, 1992c].



In the light of these changes, educational research as well as critical sociology suggests that teaching should be conceptualised as a labour process from the standpoint of the 'proletarianisation thesis' [ Densmore, 1987, Lawn and Ozga, 1988]. The application of the proletarianisation concept in teaching has been received with mixed feelings within the community of scholars on the subject. While there is a general consensus that teaching is subjected to changes, due to multiplicity of innovations and pressure to reform the education system, diverse views on the depth and effects of these changes on teachers' work have proliferated in educational journals. A review of this research calls for a modified version of proletarianisation in teaching [Hargreaves 1992b, Carlson 1987]. At the centre of this research is an understanding that proletarianisation in teaching does not result in absolute loss of autonomy. Proletarianisation in teaching should be investigated rather than assumed in Braverman's [1974] ahistorical and mechanistic approach. Teachers' work involves life experience, collective action, group cultures, personal biographies, struggle and resistance. More importantly there ought to be a recognition of dynamism precipitated by the presence of the human agency in teaching. A study conducted by Hargreaves [1992b] on the uses of increased preparation time in one elementary school in Toronto illuminates the complexities of the labour process in teaching. It raises doubts about the scope and the singularity of the intensification thesis as an explanation of changes in teachers' work. It challenges, in particular, a claim that intensification of teaching creates and reinforces the scarcities of preparation time [Hargreaves 1992b:95]. According to teachers interviewed in this study, preparation time alleviates stress, increases the chance for relaxation, planning and preparation of more creative work. Nevertheless,

they [teachers] acknowledge changes placed on their work, but emphasise that these changes are not always externally driven. Some of these come from within teaching. Teachers who stay on after school hours or come early are not following an external order, but do this out of love and commitment. Therefore, as Hargreaves argues [1992b:95]:

*... it is churlish, and perhaps also theoretically imperialist to dismiss these deeply held commitments and their consequences as merely belonging to a pattern of 'professionalism' that misrecognises and legitimates the intensification of teachers' work.*

### **The relevance of professionalism and proletarianisation for black teachers in South African**

A review of the literature on the changing nature of teachers' work indicates that theories on this issue are based in the context of advanced western capitalist societies. Would the same theories apply in a context like South Africa where race and ethnicity rather than class permeates all educational structures and practices. If so, in what form? Any attempt to address this question must consider the occupational culture of teaching specific to black teachers. Such an analysis must delineate factors that shape, as well as constrain and/or enhance teacher professionalisation or proletarianisation in South Africa.

It is apparent from the examination of pre-service education and the social context that the occupational culture of black teachers has been significantly influenced by two educational phases, that is the missionary and Bantu Education eras. Black South African teachers can be divided into two main categories: the missionary trained teachers normally referred to as 'royals', and the Bantu Education teachers. It is important to make this distinction since there is a marked difference between the 'royal' and Bantu Education teachers in terms of their professional status

as defined by both the state and the black community. Secondly, there is a tendency among commentators on the South African education system to concentrate solely on teachers who have been trained under Bantu Education as representative of a teaching culture specific to black schooling [see, for example, Walker 1988, 1991]. The discussion of teacher professionalism and proletarianisation in South Africa will thus look at these two historic phases [missionary and Bantu education].

*[i] The 'royals' and professionalism*

The history of black teacher organisations prior to 1954 points to a teaching culture that was rooted in social critique [see Hyslop, 1990, Lodge 1983]. As early as 1879, the first black teachers' organisation, the NEA, stressed both the educational and political issues in its constitution [Odendaal 1984:6]. Teachers were playing many roles within the community, their work was inextricably linked to socio-political and economical stresses of the day. The community looked up to them to both educate and provide political leadership, and indeed, many teachers played this dual role.<sup>50</sup>

Teachers' organisations did not concern themselves solely with remuneration issues, they engaged in collective action to challenge the status quo and its educational structures. Hyslop [1990:98] comments that it was the teachers' organisations who in the 1940s realised the sweeping implications of the Eiselen report and led the campaign against its recommendation rather than the mainstream black political organisation.

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<sup>50</sup> Among these teachers are well known names like Jabavu who played an important role in eastern Cape politics in the nineteenth century, John Dube, the founder of the first black controlled and managed school in South Africa, and Oliver Tambo, the ANC president who led it for more than 30 years.

In an interview with Manganyi [1983:98], Prof. Mphahlele, a distinguished black writer and former teacher, laments as follows on the teachers' campaign against the introduction of Bantu Education:

*We travelled to various parts of the Transvaal to address teachers' and parents' meetings ... We warned people against the dangers of the proposed system not only for the child but for Africans as a people with a historical destination. This education for slavery had to be resisted because its philosophical underpinnings were wrong. The government rhetoric at the time implied that communists and missionaries were teaching Africans to become rebels. Our reply in public statements at that time was that missionaries taught us nothing of the sort. If anything, missionaries were equally culpable because they taught us about virtues of humility before authority. They were telling us to proffer the other cheek no matter how painful the first slap was!*

What can be delineated from teachers' actions is a concept of professionalism rooted in *praxis* and *phronesis* [Carr and Kemmis 1986, Grundy 1989]. *Praxis*, according to Carr and Kemmis [1986:190] is broader than its common-sense meaning which is usually understood to refer to habitual or customary action. It means the '*exercise of an act, and an informed committed action*' [Carr and Kemmis 1986:191]. It is a response to a real historical situation in which an actor is compelled to act on the basis of understanding and commitment [Carr and Kemmis 1986]. *Phronesis* means 'practical judgement'. Grundy [1989:204] comments that *phronesis* manifests itself communally rather than independently. For the Greeks practical judgement-making was synonymous with democratic deliberation. It focuses on issues that are at stake and calls on others to participate in deliberations.

The action of black teachers during the missionary period bears features of professionalism that was less oriented towards social mobility and the '*defence of a privilege position*' [Fin et al 1977]. Professionalism in



this case '*figured as a means of resistance*' [Lawn and Ozga 1988:47]. It linked teaching to social action, sense of community, civic solidarity and commitment to the well-being of its 'clients' [students, parents and society at large]. Professionalism that embraces *phronesis* was influenced by African's historic affinity to a concept of communalism.<sup>51</sup> The linking of professional practice with this positive aspect of African culture placed teachers in a respectable position among the trusted echelons of the black community. Such professional practice adds a new dimension to the concept of professionalism. Rather than examine professionalism in its modern technologised form concerned with a method of determining what skills to apply to get something done, we need to assess the communal aspect of professionalism that takes into account historical cultural practices that have an effect on professionals.

*[ii] Bantu Education teachers*

Studies of black South African teachers suggest that the occupational culture of Bantu Education teachers is derived from the broader social practices and pre-service education [see Sebakwana 1992, Walker 1988 and Jansen 1991a]. At a broader socio-cultural and educational level, teachers' occupational culture has been conditioned by government policies and the whole structure of apartheid. In practice, this means that teachers were expected to accept without questioning all government policies regarding their pedagogical practices. They were separated from other teachers on racial and ethnic lines with teacher organisation reflecting this. Through the principal's log book, their actions were

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<sup>51</sup> The famous African proverb which expresses communality is 'umuntu ungumuntu ngabanye abantu' which broadly means that one's humanity is better expressed through his/her relationship with others and they in turn through a recognition of his/her humanity. This practice has been the greatest strength for African people in South Africa and world-wide.



monitored and recorded, a measure taken to ascertain that teachers did not deviate from the prescribed curriculum. The curriculum was overloaded, and classes overcrowded making it difficult for teachers to complete the year's work [Hartshorne 1992]. Teachers who work under a system that deliberately undermined and stifled their own intellectual development and that of the community they serve, were caught in a contradictory position. On the one hand they were viewed as the ideological agents of the state, and on the other, they were part of the oppressed communities. Therefore their professional status was undermined on all fronts.

As to pre-service education, as been pointed out earlier, the theoretical discourse of teacher education is heavily constrained by scientific jargon. This as Enslin [1990, 1984] argues is meant to delegitimize politics in the realm of science. To begin an analysis of education within another context is regarded as unscientific. The 'prohibition of the political' [Enslin 1990] in educational theory decontextualises the experiences of teachers and dulls their sensitivity to the general issues of power relations in society. From the government point of view professionalism in South Africa ought to be determined by a 'politically-neutral' knowledge base. Thus teachers are desensitised. As research [Walker 1991, Sebakwana 1992] has suggested, a teacher whose professional knowledge is in conflict with contextual reality has a limited professional knowledge base from which to launch his/her practice. Nevertheless in a South African context such teachers were regarded as professionals, but this recognition was based on race lines. Even when black teachers were politically inactive their status and the manner in which they were treated by the DET fell short of professionalism. Commenting on the professional status of black teachers during the 1990 'chalk down campaign', the

Committee for the Head of Education Department [CHED [1991:14] pointed out that the professional status of black teachers had been damaged by teacher involvement in political issues. This suggests that whether black teachers have been politically active or inactive their racial status has determined their status.

Furthermore, entry qualifications [a criterion which defines professionalism in a South African context] determined the status of teachers. The South African government used the qualifications to define what is 'professional' and 'unprofessional'. The application of this criterion meant that black teachers were not regarded as professionals. Thus the concept of professionalism as it applies to teaching in South Africa is based on racial lines. White teachers are defined as professionals, on the basis of race, higher qualifications and political passivity. For black teachers even if they meet such criteria, racial bias invalidates these.

Having analysed the occupational culture of black teachers, it is now possible to return to the question raised earlier; how relevant are Western derived theories of professionalism and proletarianisation in the light of the above analysis? Evidence from the above assessment suggest that the work of black teachers was subjected to the process of proletarianisation. Teachers' lack of control over all aspects of the educational discourse is sufficient to make such a conclusion. Nonetheless, it would be theoretically unsound to apply the term wholesale without any modification in the light of the occupational culture described earlier. First, the concept of proletarianisation is drawn from the neo-Marxist analysis of work under advanced capitalism with unequivocal emphasis on class relations. In this respect non-class categories are usually

excluded.<sup>52</sup> Hence black teachers' lack of control over educational processes cannot be explained adequately in terms of their class location and/ or indeed in relation to the means of production. The condition of work is profoundly determined by racial domination, ethnic divisions and patriarchal practices.

In a context where teaching has developed on an unequal basis between different groups it is difficult to draw parallels between the experiences of western teachers and those of black South Africans. For western teachers, proletarianisation is a fairly recent phenomenon, it is the result of the policies of the so called 'New Right' which has sought to control the process of learning and teaching so that it is in line with market forces. In South Africa the proletarianisation of black teachers has been part of the history of education. Since the introduction of the western form of education black teachers have never been part of the decision-making and policy structures. Curriculum design has been the preserve of the government, the teacher's role is to implement rather than create.

Therefore, the concept of professionalism in the South African context is conceived within a political framework. Higher qualifications, racial category and passivity seem to be fundamental criteria for defining a professional. Teachers who engaged in a project of social critique are regarded as unprofessional. Tensions which constitute a daily activity of a black teacher are rooted in this politically defined concept of professionalism. Lawn and Ozga [1988:82] have rightly pointed out that professionalism is a complex concept. 'The major contradiction', they

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<sup>52</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three, South Africa is an advanced capitalist society suggesting the existence of class relations. Nevertheless this is overshadowed by racial relations which intersect with indigenous culture to produce a power dynamic which has four orientations: that is class, ethnicity, sexism and racism.

continue, is still between the meanings generated by the employers and employees'.

On the basis of pre-service education, [which is dominated by technical and scientific rationality which marginalises social issues that are pertinent to teaching], and the continual bureaucratic control of teachers' work, can professional development improve the professional status of teachers and their working conditions? This question is addressed in the next section which examines international practices in teacher development.

### **Section Three**

#### **Perspectives on teacher professional development**

Teacher professional development can be defined as recurrent or continuing education in teaching. The learning activity is both personal [when a teacher decides to enrol for a course leading to a qualification] and government driven [e.g. the introduction of a new curriculum in schools may require teachers to learn new skills on how to implement it]. A review of research contributions suggests that there are three broad approaches to teacher development:

- teacher development as knowledge and skill development
- teacher development as personal development
- teacher development as social transformation.

#### **Teacher development as knowledge and skill development**

The first strand of this approach is that it emphasises *skills training and knowledge of the subject matter*. However, over the past decade the skill-development movement has gained currency. The emphasis on skills or teaching techniques as many writers have argued [Elliott 1993,

Whitty *et al* 1987, Popkewitz 1987, Hall 1981] is derived from the 'economic liberalism' of the 1980s which places unprecedented confidence in technical and skill-oriented education. Haberman [1989] makes a point that the technical ethic prevalent in teacher development cannot be dismissed as a programme favoured by the New Right governments and business; it is also essential to take an account of society's view of education. Skill development in teaching, he argues, connects with the popular view about education in most industrial nations: to prepare graduates for the world of work. The value of pragmatism, utility, immediacy and relevance – all of which are viewed as leading to occupational success, connects with the ethos of teacher development. This ethos comprises: more relevant teaching techniques, more hands-on experience and less theorising. The manifestations of these are the constructions of material, hand-outs and the exchange of teacher-to-teacher tips, micro-teaching, clinical supervision, and trials on pre-package curriculum material developed by 'experts'.

In developing countries while skills development is regarded as an important element, there is compulsive evidence [Dove 1986, Esu 1991, Andrews *et al* 1990] which suggests that the central thrust of teacher development is on improvement of academic or subject matter skills. This is particularly so for unqualified or under-qualified teachers in primary schools. The crisis of unqualified teachers is a consequence of educational expansion after independence. Because of limited educational provision during colonial rule, there were not enough qualified teachers. As a result many schools, particularly in the rural areas, continue to be staffed by teachers who are unqualified. The minimum qualification has often been set at the level of secondary school completion with no specific



pedagogical training [Andrews *et al* 1990]. Therefore teacher development tends to concentrate on academic improvement to the exclusion of skills for the improvement of teaching. The emphasis on academic improvement is rooted in the legacy of colonial education. Watson [1982] makes the point that despite many efforts made by international agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO] to promote vocational, non-formal and skill-based education in developing countries, ordinary members of society have resisted this form of education which they regard as inferior. Instead, the demand for academic education and higher qualifications is unabated. Ordinary members of society and politicians in developing nations, view academic education and higher qualifications as '*avenues of upward social mobility*' [Watson 1982:188]. Watson argues that such a practice is likely to continue since the developing nations are reciprocating the job-qualification structure existing in the metropolitan powers.

Another feature of a knowledge and skill-based model which is interrelated to the above is that, as in pre-service CBTE, the central thrust is on the development of specific competencies. These competencies are usually pre-specified in a tangible and concrete form. The ascendancy of competence-based teacher development is also located within the entire discourse of technical rationality and efficiency movement of the 1980s and 1990s [Giroux and McLaren 1986, Popkewitz 1987]. Alexander and Martin [1995] reminds us that there is nothing new about the development of competencies; their usage is:

*... prefigured historically in both the 'economic utility' model of Taylorism and the scientific management movement in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s.*

Nevertheless, in the 1990s the usage of competence is narrowly conceived.

*Originally competence meant a quality of wholeness and completeness. As such it signified a general ethical inclination and moral capacity. This is almost the antithesis of its current technised usage in which it has the connotations of minimally acceptable standards, and, moreover, one that is reduced to a series of discrete and disaggregated techniques.*

[Alexander and Martin 1995:5].

Thus in its contemporary usage, the competence discourse, as it applies to teacher development, encourages teachers to '*privilege performance over understanding*' [Alexander and Martin 1995]. The competence movement of the 1980s and 1990s appear to be more interested in what teachers can do rather than on what they know through their experiences and perceptions.

Secondly, knowledge and skill development is a *top-down model*. Teachers are rarely consulted on the relevance and viability of the programme. This is particularly the case in developing countries [Greenland 1983, Dove 1986]. In these countries the state is highly centralised and the education system assumes the same pattern. The top-down approaches are normally justified on the basis that the state needs to create a coherent policy which will serve as a form of social cohesion after years of colonial rule which in most cases was based on a '*divide and rule*' paradigm [Dove 1986, Jansen 1990a, Carnoy and Samoff 1990]. Furthermore, teacher development is normally mounted by the state to deal with the educational crisis such as teacher shortages and falling standards rather than as an integrated part of teacher education.

In the case of western nations, the educational reforms of the 1980s have given the state greater power to intervene in teacher education and other areas of teaching [Dale 1989]. For example, the shift from a school-based curriculum [which was teacher-designed and controlled] to the National Curriculum in England and Wales, has resulted in teachers

losing control over the dictates of their work.<sup>53</sup> For teacher development this implied that the government will have a greater control over the nature and process of the teachers' professional development. The content of teacher development will be influenced by the assumptions underlying the National Curriculum.<sup>54</sup> This, as Hargreaves and Fullan [1992a] argue, legitimises bureaucratic intervention in the career development of teachers. Indeed since the introduction of the National Curriculum in England and Wales teachers' professional development emphasises skills development, standardisation of performances and appraisal [Apple and Jungck 1992, Demaine 1988]. The effects of educational changes in England and Wales have been felt in Scotland, which has an independent system from the rest of the United Kingdom. Hartley [1989] argues that the introduction of teacher appraisal schemes in Scotland has resulted in the redefinition of professional development. He points out that in 1979 the Scottish Education Department [SED] stressed the need to collaborate with the teachers in the mounting of teacher development courses. This collaboration was based on a view that the needs of teachers should be articulated by the teaching force rather than by outside experts. Since 1989 the SED has dispensed with this view. Instead, as Hartley [1989:220] argues:

*INSET is based on surveillance and the overt curbing of 'extended professionalism'. The hierarchical model is derived from Taylorist management theory and is a re-emergence of a strand of managerial thinking in the SED ... Individual needs are retained as a concept, but it will be officialdom, not the teacher, who will define what they are, and what will be done about them.*

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<sup>53</sup> Teachers in England and Wales have had a high degree of autonomy in what and how they teach. They had more autonomy in teaching and curriculum development.

<sup>54</sup> Prevalent assumptions in the National Curriculum are that education needs to be tailored to market forces with the emphasis on efficiency, management and skill. All of these are to be evaluated through performance indicators.

The third strand is that of a *knowledge-power axis*. The hierarchical approach to teacher development is not only based on the government's desire to control teacher development but also on assumptions about teachers' experiential knowledge. Knowledge- and skill-based approaches takes little account of teachers' point of view. Instead teachers' experiences and their perceptions are regarded as idiosyncratic and defined as 'soft' knowledge. On the basis of this perception 'hard' knowledge is accorded high status. This knowledge as Hargreaves and Fullan [1992a] note, is derived from positivist research findings based on scientific endeavour. In the western world, university-based researchers, educators, and academics provide this knowledge. Elliott [1993] makes a point that over the past decade this practice has embraced a 'social market view'. Essentially such a view applies the production-consumption metaphor.<sup>55</sup> Schools are consumers or clients and teacher education is a market. Hence:

*If teacher educators in higher education have a role in this scenario it is purely a service function, for which they must compete against other training agencies. Professional development expertise from the social market perspective is transferred from higher education to senior staff in schools. It is the latter who identify 'training needs' and essentially control and monitor its provision. Basically, teacher trainers from higher education become part-time technical operatives of training technology.*  
[Elliott 1993:17]

In developing countries the picture is slightly different. The field of teacher development is dominated not by local academics, but by expatriates [Davies 1988, Watson 1982, 1994] and donor agencies [King 1991, Watson 1982]. This is due to the legacy of colonial education and the continual dependence on Western-derived theories of learning and development. Studies on dependence theory have proliferated over the

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<sup>55</sup> This metaphor has been transferred from the economic sphere to the social sphere of the public services, including education.

past decades [Amin 1977, Altbach 1977, Altbach and Kelly 1978, Arnove 1980, Watson 1982, 1994, Jansen 1991a, 1991c], and some of these writers have adopted a 'world system' concept to describe the asymmetrical relationship of knowledge and power in the international context. The central argument is that the powerful metropolis centres [the core nation, e.g. USA and Britain] have monopoly over the political, economic and educational institutions of the 'third world' [referred to as peripheral nations, which in most cases are former colonies of the 'core' nations]. As such education systems continue to be organised along western paradigms. Watson [1982:184] rightly notes that the continual reliance on western forms of knowledge systems is not only due to western dominance, but also that this form of education is rarely criticised by the majority of the people in 'peripheral' countries. In most cases the only critics of the colonial education are radical scholars in both the core and peripheral nations. Their voices have had little influence within the peripheral nation as they are in the minority.

The implication of educational dependence for teacher development is that teachers' voices in these countries continue to be in the margin of educational development. And all the more so given that the import of western theories of development is not neutral; they carry with them imperialist connotations based on the superiority of western civilisation. Most expatriates who are teacher educators in these countries are conditioned by:

*... their own experiences, perceptions and cultural blinkers. The approaches they bring to their work are therefore, bound to be biased.*  
[Watson 1982:189]

Elsewhere Watson [1981] provides an explanation of cultural biases. He argues that teacher education in Britain has failed to incorporate the



comparative education element in its curriculum. An implication of this is that some of the teachers who will be invited to take up teaching posts in peripheral countries will have little knowledge of local circumstances.

The fourth strand is related to the *greater accent placed on three subjects*; English, Mathematics and Science. Most teacher development programmes in both the developed and developing nations are conducted in the mainstream of these subjects. Such prominence has gained greater currency over the past two decades as a result of educational reforms. In Britain English, Mathematics and Science are the 'core' subjects in the National Curriculum. Taking the case of English language, in developing nations English language teaching programmes are a big business. For example an institution like Moray House in Scotland has an overseas department that specialises in English language teaching. Developing nations in East Asia and Africa send their teachers in bulk numbers to undertake six to nine months courses in the teaching of English Language.<sup>56</sup> Even in countries that have attempted to divorce themselves from colonial language [e.g. Tanzania and Kenya] there is evidence that the focus of educational development in general and teacher education in particular is in English Language Teaching [see Carnoy and Samoff 1991, Jansen 1990a].

In western countries particularly in Britain, the Conservative Government has stressed the 'back to basics' policy which advocates the teaching of English grammar. The implication of this is that the teaching of languages will be systematic and based on rules and regulations rather

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<sup>56</sup> In 1988 the author was one of the teachers sent on this course. The groups in that year were 54 teachers from Cameroon, 30 from Namibia, 10 from Tanzania, and 25 from Malaysia. Other countries represented were Lesotho, Botswana, South Africa, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Maldives, Kenya, Zambia, Malawi and Senegal.

than on a situational basis, therefore language teaching will be structural rather than progressive. The implications for teacher development are that teachers will need to learn the 'back to basics' methods. In a context where teacher appraisal schemes, performance indicators and accountability are the central component of educational policy, teachers are expected to '*produce satisfactory products*' [Bernier and McClelland 1989]. These 'products' will be evaluated in terms of 'back to basic' learning and instruction of which English grammar is a part.

As to science and maths education, the rapid development of technology and its impact on the day-to-day lives of many people has resulted in the view that these two subjects are the basic requirement for economic growth. The argument on the importance of science and maths is current throughout the globe. In the west the economic stagnation of the 1980s and 1990s is attributed to inadequate instruction in these subjects. According to the New Right governments in these countries, the education system has failed by not teaching science and maths and the skills associated with these. In South Africa these arguments are contained within the de Lange report discussed earlier. This global view on the significance of science and maths education has important messages for teacher development. This does not only reflect economic thinking, but it also communicates a view that real teaching and generic teaching skills are to be located in these subjects [Hargreaves and Fullan 1992a]. As a result of this other subjects like the arts and history are usually overlooked.

### **Teacher development as personal development**

The concept of teacher development as a process of personal growth stems from the view that teaching is inherently a personal activity.

Studies focusing on teacher staffroom talk [Nias 1985, Hammersley 1983, Sebakwana 1992], teacher classroom talk [Woods 1980], critical incidents in teachers' professional lives [Measor 1985], teaching culture [Hargreaves 1980] and life histories [Goodson 1981, Ball and Goodson 1985, Raymond *et al* 1992] assert that teaching is rooted in personal as well as professional dispositions. The central thrust of this argument is that teachers usually impart into their work personal histories, beliefs and unique behaviours which influence their pedagogical practices and professional conduct. Nias [1989:155] makes the point succinctly when she states that:

*Teaching, like learning, has a perceptual basis. The minute-by-minute decisions teachers make within the shifting, unpredictable, capricious world of the classroom and the judgement they reach depend upon how they perceive particular events, behaviours, materials, persons. In turn, these perceptions are determined by schemata: persistent, deep-rooted and well organised classifications of ways of thinking, perceiving and behaving which are also living and flexible.*

Several writers [Nias 1989, Goodson 1981a, 1981b Thiessen 1992] have identified factors that encourage personal traits in teaching. These factors are: the historical link with the view that teaching is a call, the classroom autonomy and the school architecture. Firstly, as has been discussed earlier, teaching has continued to be seen a calling rather than a profession. The expectation within this paradigm is that teachers are supposed to be caring, loving and morally-inclined persons. A choice to enter teaching should be inspired by love; indeed this personal disposition, as Nias [1989] and Lortie [1975] have argued, '*stands at the core of becoming a teacher*'. Secondly, classroom autonomy allows teachers to make decisions on the basis of their perceptions and beliefs. Nias [1989] makes the point that this is more prevalent in British primary schools where teachers have relative freedom in curriculum and teaching

methods. In this context teachers learn to depend on their own knowledge, interests and preferences in making curriculum and pedagogic decisions. Despite changes brought about by the national curriculum, Nias argues that teachers will continue to rely on personal dispositions. As she puts it, *'habits are likely to die hard'*.

It is also fair to suggest in the light of the analysis of teachers' covert resistance against Bantu Education, that even in societies where teachers have little or no control of curricular or pedagogical matters, a teacher's classroom autonomy is still guaranteed. It is in the classroom that teachers like Gugu [see Chapter Three] exercise their political beliefs. She used the Bantu Education syllabus to sensitise her students to issues of women's oppression. Her actions are connected to her personal and political convictions. In addition, teachers' interests, preferences and behaviours are found in matters related to discipline, morality and religion. How a teacher decides to exercise discipline in his/her classroom is a matter of personal choice.

The third factor which encourages individualism and personal disposition is the teacher-student relationship. This relationship is the most important element in the educational process. The breakdown of this relationship can constrain learning. The importance of this relationship is underlined in pre-service education, and it is also enhanced by the school architecture. In teacher education teachers are trained to know all the children and to take an interest in each and everyone of them. The school architecture encourages the intimate relationship. Classrooms are 'match-boxes' with one teacher and a group of students, and these match-boxes are cut off from each other making it difficult to know what goes on in each one. Thus the solitary nature of the

classroom makes teachers talk of themselves in relationship to their students:

*They [teachers] derive intense satisfaction from feeling 'natural' and 'whole' in their relationship with children and from creating a sense of community within classes and schools.*

[Nias 1989:157]

On the basis of the thesis that teaching is rooted in personal schemata, teacher development has been conceived as a process of 'self-understanding' and personal growth. The importance of the teacher as a person is currently receiving much attention in teacher development literature [Holly and McLoughlin 1989, Diamond 1991, Hargreaves and Fullan 1992a]. The emphasis in this literature is that when a teacher understands himself/herself and is content with that, he/she becomes a better teacher. As Connely and Clandinin [1988:23] state:

*If you understand what makes up the curriculum of the person most important to you, namely, yourself, you will better understand the difficulties, whys, and wherefores of the curriculum of your students. There is no better to study curriculum than to study ourselves.*

Some writers [Sikes 1985, Oja 1989] have applied the human life cycle, cognitive development and adult development theories to stress the point that teacher development is linked to personal development.<sup>57</sup> These writers make the point that teacher development depends on age and cognitive maturity as well as concerns that characterise adult development. Age and experience, they argue, shape and influence teachers' choices, concerns and interests in terms of professional development. Sikes' [1985] study of the life-cycle of a teacher found that

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<sup>57</sup> Human life-cycle theories focus on predictable life-events, articulating transition and adaptations to life-events. Cognitive-development theories centre on cognitive emotional perspectives distinctive to different stages of development. Adult development theorists such as Levinson *et al* [1978], Havighurst [1972] have stressed routine 'life-events' as prompts for development.



teachers like everyone else are subjected to biological and psychological changes which are associated with ageing and how the process is viewed in society. Oja [1989] employed cognitive and adult development theories to study teachers' reasons for participating in a project. She found that their reasons often correlate with their life age and career cycle. Furthermore, she found that how teachers participate in the groups, their expectations and the outcomes often correlated with their cognitive-development stages. In both studies age, career cycle and perceptual development were central to teachers' professional development.

As such, teacher development as a process of self-actualisation needs to attend to the stages of adult development. Teachers in development programmes should not be seen as mere learners, they are adults with concerns that affect them as they age. If teacher development embraces the adult development ethic, teacher educators and policy makers will be sensitised to the fact that teachers at different points in their teaching career, life-span and development have different perceptions of improvement and change, as well as different needs in terms of professional development. These issues as Oja [1989:149] argues will enable teacher educators involved in development programmes to understand why certain conflicts and support networks develop between teachers who are at similar or different stages of development.

The advances made by these findings should be seen as great contributions to the literature of teacher professional development. However, their fundamental weakness is that they applied theories which cannot be applied universally. For example, life cycle and adult development theories have been criticised for their narrowness. The groups employed by Levinson *et al* [1978] and Goud [1978] in particular

consist of white American middle class men. These men's experiences are context and culturally specific. As a consequence the life pattern they exhibit cannot be applied in other cultural settings like Africa. On this basis teacher development theories which adopt these theories without any modifications are bound to limit our understanding of the adult component in professional development. Perceptions of adulthood in an African setting are different from the western context. For instance in the west a youth of sixteen is regarded as an adult, whereas in the African setting it is twenty-one. And again to be regarded as an adult depends on whether a person is financially independent. Thus teacher development when connected to adult development in an African setting has to employ culturally specific perceptions and practices.

Teacher development programmes conceived within the view of teaching as a personal activity tend to focus on classroom improvement. Classroom-Based Teacher Development [CBTD] is normally directed at helping an individual teacher in a particular subject. The classroom is seen, as Thiessen [1992:90] states:

*... both as the means and the end to teacher and student development.*

Professional development within this paradigm is not conceived as staff development or school-based. This is more prevalent in secondary schools where professional development is subject-based. For example, science teachers get to go to seminars and workshops that are concerned with their area. Training takes the form of demonstrations which simulate factors relevant to the classroom; teachers are then required to test these demonstrations with their students. A follow-up and support network is provided as a way of evaluating the effectiveness of the training. Another element in this approach is that the training sessions emphasise material

development and new teaching methods. These are then transferred to the classroom setting, thus the classroom is a final point of application.

In addition, teachers who are exposed to the view that professional development is a matter of individual growth tend to pursue academic interests. They normally undertake academic studies leading to higher qualifications such as Masters.

### **Teacher development as transformation**

This concept stems from the critical and radical scholarship which sees education as a reproductive tool which serves the interests of the dominant groups in society. Through education the norms and values of the powerful groups are maintained and enhanced while those of the subjugated are marginalised. Radical scholars have argued that educational knowledge presented to students fails to question social injustices which are part of the status quo. Instead in schools racial discrimination [McCarthy 1990 Troyna 1993], gender [Acker 1983, ] and class [Apple 1984] are taken for granted and not problematised and challenged. In addition, schools mediate and produce power relations: the hierarchical structure of education is reflected in teacher-student and teacher-principal relationships. Basically those who are in higher positions at institutional level tend to exercise the power over the less powerful. As such schooling is one of the institutions that promotes undemocratic practices.

On the basis of this radical critique scholars point that teachers are well placed to challenge these practices. The view is that teachers come into contact with students from oppressed backgrounds in terms of class, gender, race and religion. The knowledge they acquire from working with students whose culture is not represented in the school curriculum enables them to question knowledge, how it is constructed and whose

interest are served by it. Teachers are thus viewed as social agents who [through their interaction with the future generation] can transform schooling and society at large. Teachers [through their actions and experiences] can either challenge or reproduce the social order. Their experiential knowledge can be utilised to reconstruct knowledge, making it democratic [i.e. taking account of the cultures and experiences of both the students and the teacher] rather than elitist [i.e. serving the needs of the dominant groups in society]. Thus teachers are crucial social agents who either legitimate or transform schooling. Aronowitz and Giroux [1986] have coined the term '*transformative intellectuals*' to describe the role of teachers in the transformation of schooling making it a democratic institution. They describe '*transformative intellectuals*' as follows:

*Transformative intellectuals is a category which suggests that teachers as intellectuals can emerge from and work with any number of groups other than and including the working class, that advance emancipatory traditions and cultures within and without alternative public spheres. Utilising the language of critique, these intellectuals employ the discourse of self-criticism so as to make the foundations for critical pedagogy explicit while simultaneously illuminating the relevance of the latter for both students and the large society. Central to the category of transformative intellectuals is the task of making the pedagogical more political and the political more pedagogical ... this means utilising forms of pedagogy that treat students as critical agents; it problematises knowledge, utilises dialogue, and makes knowledge more meaningful, critical and ultimately emancipatory.* [Aronowitz and Giroux 1986:36-7]

Over the past two decades literature on transformative-oriented or progressive teacher development has proliferated in educational research. The most elaborated upon approach in this sphere is action research. The action research movement has burgeoned all over the world. Action research takes a view that teachers are researchers who are testing and evaluating curricular ideas in their classrooms. The concept of teacher as

researcher emanates from the work and ideas of Lawrence Stenhouse [1975] on curriculum development and teaching. Central to Stenhouse's ideas is the notion of emancipation – a process in which teachers and students are liberated from a system of education that denies individual dignity and is predicated on external authority and control. This liberation involves reconceptualising curriculum development as curriculum research and linking this to the art of teaching. Since the art of teaching is based on perceptions and personal judgement as discussed earlier, this then suggests that teachers take more control over knowledge construction and their professional lives. Thus teachers who engage in their own research develop professional judgement which leads to autonomy and emancipation. Action research therefore embraces the sentiments expressed in Aronowitz and Giroux' [1986] definition of transformative intellectuals. Other essential elements of action research as described by Carr and Kemmis [1986] can be summarised as follows:

- action research is a historical process – educational practices are socially- constructed and historically embedded. Teachers who have this understanding can locate their practices within a historical conjuncture and they would understand how and why educational changes take place.
- action research is a social process – it focuses on the social practices of education, on understanding whose meaning is included in the school curriculum. This involves teachers critiquing not only the meanings of others but also theirs. This leads to the process of self-criticism, self-evaluation and critical reflection on one's practices, assumptions, and taken for granted meanings.



- action research is participatory – on the basis of self -reflection and understanding of social and historical processes of education, a teacher takes an action which is aimed at changing his/her own practice. This action is taken in collaboration with other teachers who also engaged in the self-reflective activity. This allows teachers to break down the individualistic culture which has characterised teaching.
- action research is emancipatory – the process of self-interrogation and reflection is essentially a critical dialogue between professional and personal knowledge. This process is emancipatory and transformative in nature since a teacher seek to establish new ways of teaching to both improve and transform his/her practices.

Teacher development projects based on action research have mushroomed all over the world. These projects take many forms. For example in South Africa an action research project based at the University of the Western Cape focuses on primary school teachers in the townships [see Walker 1991]. University based researchers in collaboration with primary school teachers seek to transform teaching and learning practices which has been discussed in preceding chapters. Material for enhancing this is derived from teachers' own experiential knowledge, and the role of the university-based researchers is expose teachers to new ways of teaching and to utilise their political activism as a base for developing alternative forms of knowing and what Aronowitz and Giroux [1986] call a '*language of possibility*'. Thus both teacher and researchers learn from each other in a participatory and non-hierarchical pattern. Similar projects are to be found in the US [see Zeichner 1993, Stevenson 1991].

Another form collaborative research takes is that of one researcher working with a teacher in his/her class [see Louden 1992, Raymond *et al*

1992]. For example, Louden [1992] worked closely with one teacher, Johanna for a year. He started as a visitor, then he moved to be an observer and gradually became a full participant in school and classroom matters. Together with Johanna, they developed new understandings of how teachers reflect in practice. This form of professional development where researchers work closely with teachers empowers teachers by utilising their experiences. Teachers usually perceive this as an acknowledgement of their work. Also promoted here are teachers' voices. But more important collaborative research between teachers and researchers moves away from the 'how' [which is fundamentally technicist and limiting] to answer questions of 'what' and 'why' and 'where' to [which is more theoretical and broader].

Another element of action research in teacher professional development is journal writing pioneered by Holy and McLoughlin [1989]. They worked for a year with seven teachers who kept personal-professional journals. These journals were used as a tool for reflection and self-evaluation. The significance of journal writing as Holy and McLoughlin claim, is that teachers are enabled to:

*... document their theories-in-action and create documentation to return to and reflect on.* [Holy and McLoughlin 1989:262]

They elaborate on the importance of their findings for teacher development:

*Using words to describe and tell the story of one's teaching enlarges the lexicon available to describe practice. It serves an ongoing evaluation system for individual teachers, and it also provides bases for collegial discussion. Keeping a personal-professional journal is both a way to record the journey of teaching and growing and to experience the processes purposely and sensitively. This form of professional development provides the context within which assessment and appraisal reside and make sense.*

From the foregoing analysis it is possible to suggest that the concept of teacher development as transformation seeks to put teachers in charge of educational development. But this autonomy, as the analysis appears to show, has to begin from the level of self-understanding which involves critical analysis and reflection on one's teaching. It appears that teacher development as self understanding discussed earlier converges with the ideas entailed in the teacher-as-researcher. Both emphasise the need to see teachers as people who are capable of controlling their professional lives. The only point of departure is that in teacher development as transformation, teachers have to base their practice in the historical and social context as well as cultivate the collegiate and collaborative culture which can transcend the school and classroom contexts. Thus teacher development within this view is essentially a political project.

Despite the growing movement towards teacher development through action research, there is scepticism about the effectiveness of this movement. First, there is evidence that action research projects are too few in number to make a significant impact on teacher development practice which is dominated by technical rationality. Second, the projects are costly and time consuming and administrators are sceptical of funding projects that are 'subversive' in character, that is, overtly political and seeking to enhance teachers' power. Thirdly, there is accumulating evidence that teachers are overworked due to overcrowding in inner cities in both the developed and developing nations and to educational reforms which in particular require teachers to do more assessments. Finally, Weiner [1987] and Zeichner [1993] in their appraisal of the action research movement in Britain and the US found that most of the projects conceived within this paradigm are over-concerned with professional self-

knowledge. This results in action research which ends in the classroom with teachers failing to incorporate an explicit concern with equity issues of any kind. Teacher development which purports to be transformative while ignoring issues of social justice becomes an end in itself and serves to undermine and distort the educational potential and moral basis of schooling [Zeichner 1993:17].

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter an attempt has been made to review the theoretical bases of pre-service teacher education. From this review it can be suggested that the process of preparing teachers and socialising them into the teaching culture is inherently political and serves social agendas which seek to maintain the status quo. In addition competing orientations in pre-service education suggest that teacher education like schooling is an arena of contestation. This contestation reflects social conflicts related to issues of power and control and these are cast in terms of class, gender and race.

Also elaborated upon in this chapter are the concepts of professionalism and proletarianisation as they apply to teaching. From the analysis it appears that teaching is a controlled profession despite the autonomy teachers have when they are in their classrooms. This relative autonomy it also appears, is under threat given recent reforms in education. Thus the concept of professionalism seems to be incompatible with the working conditions of many teachers. Instead, proletarianisation characterised the work of teachers in South Africa, Britain and the US. However, the degree of proletarianisation and the nature of it is context-specific and historically derived. Teachers in the US experience the loss of autonomy over the dictates of their work differently from teachers in Britain or South Africa. The concept of professionalism in a South African

context embraces racial connotations and bears little relevance to the working conditions of black teachers who are treated as 'factory floor workers'. Since teachers are aware of their demeaned status, they also tend to behave in the manner in which they are treated by the government. The question to pose is, can teacher upgrading projects mounted by both the government educational authority, DET and the NGOs improve the status of the black teachers? Are approaches adopted by these programmes geared towards the cultivation of a deracialised form of professionalism? These questions will be addressed in the next chapter which describe DET and NGO teacher development programmes.

In addition, an attempt was made to review perspectives on teacher professional development. As with pre-service education it appears that teacher development is also constrained by the paradigm of technical rationality and central control. Most teacher development programmes are mounted on a top-down basis throughout the globe. These programmes emphasised competencies, skills and knowledge training to the relative exclusion of teachers' own experiential knowledge. In addition knowledge and skill-based teacher development seemed to be concerned predominantly with three subjects; English, Mathematics and Science. Other subjects tend to be pushed to the periphery of teacher development.

Also reviewed here were alternative perspectives to teacher development. In these [personal and radical], orientations there are efforts to put teachers in charge of their own development. They both emphasised the human agency as a cornerstone of professional development. Teachers' professional and personal knowledge are regarded as significant elements in professional development. However,



as indicated earlier, despite this apparent convergence, there is a point of departure in each orientation. Personal-oriented approaches are liberal in nature, they emphasise individualism while radical approaches have sought to cultivate the collaborative culture which is viewed as essential for the transformation of education and society. Despite these alternatives which promise to give teaching back to the teachers, scepticism has been raised about their effectiveness and about their over-ambitious agendas. Because of their 'subversive' nature, they are not fully funded and tend to be little islands of innovations surrounded by a sea of knowledge and skill based programmes. Furthermore given the current thinking within governments, namely that skills and vocational training are to be enhanced in all areas of education including teacher development, the efforts of teacher educators who subscribe to alternative orientations might be greatly undermined. Indeed, there is evidence that globally the skills movement has gained currency in teacher development.

In summary, it appears from this analysis that teacher education, that is both pre-service and in-service, and teaching as an occupation, are as Hartley [1993] rightly suggests caught between the ages of modernity and post-modernity.<sup>58</sup> The epistemological and political basis of teacher education reflects the tension and contradictions which constitute the

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<sup>58</sup> Modernity is a post-traditional order in which diverse ideologies and philosophies, uncertainty, a sense of openness, self-realisation and critical reason permeate into everyday life. In the political realm modernity stands for liberalism, in the economic realm it ensures freedom of the market but not at the expense of the public good, and in the moral realm it steers the course of non-interference by the state into matters of individual spirituality and personal fulfilment [see Giddens 1991]. Post-modernity on the other hand is characterised by the decline of diversity, a view that the world is homogeneous. It is the age of Macdonalisation of the world, where taste buds have little to do with culture, ideologies and morals. The public discourse has been replaced by the consumer ethic and greater bureaucratisation of social institutions. The culture of individualist choice has replaced collectivism and public solidarity. The politics of 'choice' permeate everyday life: poverty, liberty, inequalities are all justified as a matters of 'choice'.

ideological basis of these ages. The reflective movement is itself based on both the modernity and post-modernity philosophical basis of the 'I', and 'Me'. The behaviourist paradigm and reflective pedagogy in teacher education are both the product of a liberal-orientation which is the basis of socio-economic and political practice in western societies. Thus, radical scholars who advocate a collaborative and collective culture in teacher development and teaching have to transcend the realm of liberalism or find another point of entry which is based on communalism and collectivity.

On the basis of this review, and of the analysis presented in the preceding chapters, how is professional development conceived in a South African context where educational provision, thinking and operation have been based [for the last three centuries] on racial inequality? What sort of teacher professional development paradigm has been adopted to connect to social, economic and political practices? These questions are tackled in Chapter Five which discusses teacher development practices in South Africa since the 1970s.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Teacher Development Practices in South Africa**

*Apartheid is both cause and effect. The ethnocentrism that gave rise to it flourishes within it.* [Sparks 1990:214]

## **Introduction**

The theme which seems to emerge from the previous chapters is that the socio-historical context shapes and influence what goes on in teacher education, teacher development and teaching in general. In addition, socio-economic and political changes and the tension embedded in them have a bearing on teachers and their professional development. Teacher development in both developed and developing countries appears to be influenced by ideological shifts in the economic and political spheres. In South Africa these changes have taken place within a framework of institutionalised racism and white domination. More importantly they have occurred in a context of legitimisation and accumulation and educational crises.

The purpose of this chapter is therefore to describe the teacher development programmes mounted by DET and those organised by white liberal NGOs. This chapter is divided into two sections. Section one focuses on DET programmes from the late 1960s to the 1980s. In section two the focus is on NGO programmes. Since NGO programmes are funded mainly by the business sectors a brief history of their involvement in black education is presented. This will necessitate an understanding of the assumptions governing NGO programmes. The chapter concludes by presenting a description of teacher development programmes from which the sample of this study was drawn. These projects serve as examples of the common pattern of NGO programmes.

## Section One

### DET teacher development programmes

From the mission era to the second decade of Bantu Education no national policy or planned teacher development programme existed for black teachers. While much attention was paid to pre-service education, teacher development was overtly ignored and not acknowledged as a significant part of teacher's personal and professional growth. This is evident in all government commissions; from the Harding Commission in 1859 [the first government commission to look into the education of blacks] to the Eiselen Commission in 1949 [which recommended the introduction of Bantu Education]. These commissions raised concerns about the quality of black teachers, yet nevertheless failed to make any recommendations with regard to teacher development.

The eclipse of teacher development was also propounded by the political bases of Bantu Education which advocated '*compulsory ignorance*' [Nkomo 1990b:257]. From Verwoerd's parliamentary speeches, it was apparent that teacher education would end at a pre-service level. Bantu Education promoted a view that black teachers were adequately qualified with Standard 8 and two years professional training and that there was no need for teacher development programmes. After all, as Verwoerd argued in his speeches, a highly qualified teacher will raise false expectations [in terms of racial quality] within his/her community. It was thus not in the interest of the government to promote teacher development in black education. This might provide teachers with an opportunity of acquiring high qualifications which inevitably might lead to personal and professional improvement – a scenario which would



undermine the purposes and intentions of Bantu Education. Why then did the government change its policy in the late 1960s and start to offer piecemeal and limited forms of teacher development?

The change of policy is located in the economic and educational crises discussed in the previous chapters. The most important impetus was the quality of teachers in secondary schools. As discussed earlier, the government concerned itself with the training of primary school teachers to the neglect of secondary schools. This was so because the government was reluctant to offer secondary schooling for blacks, and when it did so it was limited and meant to produce potential candidates for teaching and nursing. Thus when secondary school expanded due to blacks' desire to continue schooling beyond primary level, the government was caught ill-prepared to supply teachers who were academically and professionally educated to teach in these schools. Thus teachers who were trained to teach in primary schools were posted to secondary schools. This led to deteriorating educational quality as many of these teachers were not versed in knowledge of the subject matter they were expected to teach. These concerns were raised by the students, the black community and the business sectors. The latter called for the improvement of the situation while the former advocated the total transformation of education.

In 1968 the government response to these concerns was to set up an in-service department to raise the standard of subject teaching in physical science and languages in secondary schools. This was done on an *ad hoc* basis and not much planning and enthusiasm was put into this department: the department was overwhelmingly under-resourced. For example, the government appointed one white physical science specialist to go around the country with a mobile laboratory offering science courses

to a group of science teachers [Hartshorne 1992:264]. This was impossible on the basis that the task was extremely difficult for one person to handle. A single handed 'specialist' could not have any significant effect as there were too many untrained and under-qualified teachers who needed training in physical science [see Appendix 5A: Teacher qualification in Maths and Science subject]. Furthermore there was no equipment in schools for teachers to subsequently transfer the training received into the classroom.

A second attempt was made in 1969 with the opening of the in-service training centre at Mamelodi, a township near Pretoria. It offered courses in Afrikaans, English, Mathematics, Physical Science and Biology, African Languages, History, Geography, Commerce and Accountancy and Religious education [Hartshorne [1992:264]. Training in this centre lasted for a week and concentrated on secondary school work.

Other elements of in-service education in the early 1970s were the production of the Bantu Education journal, the school radio service, and the educational video programme, sponsored by IBM. The articles of the Bantu Education journal promoted the government's view of teaching and learning styles. In most cases they were written in Afrikaans. This was perceived as an indication of government policy; to promote Afrikaner nationalism and dominance. As noted earlier, teachers had a negative attitude toward the language, thus the journal was of little use to them. Many teachers as Hartshorne [in discussion with the author, 1992] stated did not even bother to read the journal, and others were not even aware of its existence.

The radio service was aimed at primary school teachers who were teaching in the medium of the mother tongue. DET supplied each school

with a battery operated radio and paid the South African Broadcasting Corporation [SABC] R260,000 [£52,000] to provide the service [Hartshorne 1992]. Materials and teachers' guides were supplied to schools to complement the radio service. These efforts were not effective as teachers viewed this as '*an additional propaganda arm of the government*' [Hartshorne 1992:265].<sup>59</sup>

In all these ad hoc attempts neither a teacher support system nor a follow up service was instituted to complement these developments. It was merely window dressing with no co-ordinated national policy aimed at genuine 'improvement'.<sup>60</sup> These piecemeal and unplanned efforts reflected the government's reluctance to provide continuing education for black teachers. It saw its main task as the provider of pre-service education only.

After the 1976 uprising government policy on in-service education shifted from neglect to relative activism. As had been the case with previous attempts, the government was responding to the crisis of the apartheid state. During this period DET in-service can be categorised into three areas: qualification focused, school management, and subject based. First, qualification-based teacher development stems from the wider concern with the academic background of practising teachers. It has been shown in previous chapters that the qualifications of black teachers were deliberately kept low as part of the policy of institutionalised inequality

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<sup>59</sup> It should be noted that the radio service is ethnically differentiated according to the official policy of apartheid. For example, for Africans who are in Natal/Durban, a Zulu speaking area, they can tune in to Radio Zulu only. However, the situation is different in Johannesburg Townships which are cosmopolitan, albeit divided sectionally according to ethnic origin. Africans can tune in to all radio stations. Since schools are ethnically organised, teachers will tune to the relevant station.

<sup>60</sup> It is quite difficult to use the word improvement in the South African context, solely on the basis of the nature of apartheid education. To the victims of the system, it cannot improve, it can only be completely overhauled.

between racial groupings [see Appendix 5B: Teacher qualification in 1990]. The recommendations of the de Lange report on teacher qualification were endorsed by the government. This endorsement set a precedent for teacher development geared toward qualification improvement. In 1982, when Vista University was set up, the qualification-based teacher development programme was placed in its education department. The thrust of Vista courses has been on secondary school work. The courses lead to the Secondary Teachers' Certificate [STC] and Secondary Teachers' Diploma [STD]. The duration of training is two-years taken on a part-time basis.

The admission criteria for the STC course is Standard 10 qualification and PTC. Teachers who complete the course are upgraded to category M+2 for salary purposes. Essentially M+2 means that a teacher has Standard 10 plus two years of professional upgrading. For STD the admission criteria is STC. Teachers who obtain STD are upgraded to M+3 in terms of remuneration. This category places these teachers in salary parity with their white counterparts. Thus teacher development based on academic qualifications attempted to respond to the recommendations of the de Lange report which viewed qualifications as a measure to address inequalities in teaching in terms of salary. The thrust of the Vista programme has been the retraining of primary teachers for work in secondary schools [Hartshorne 1992]. Nevertheless, other teachers who already meet the M+3 salary criteria study for courses that lead to a Bachelor of Arts degree. This inevitably elevates their salary category to M+4. Basically as long as the teachers acquire higher qualifications, the higher the remuneration category they are eligible for [see Appendix 5C: Teacher qualification and monthly income].

The Vista programme is one of the main teacher development programmes in which 75% of black teachers take part [EduSource 1993]. Despite the government's failure to provide teachers with study grants, teachers register in huge numbers for the Vista programme. The popularity of the project, as some writers [Morrell 1988, de Vries 1989] argue, lies in the salary motive.

Another form of qualification upgrading scheme has been a one-year full-time course undertaken by DET itself. The DET established the department of further education in Algoa, Daveyton, Soweto and Sebokeng colleges of education. The aim has been to upgrade the professional qualification of teachers in lower primary classes. Teachers who undertake this one-year course are granted study leave. Since 1990 teachers who do not want to take the leave are now allowed to take it on a part-time basis. At the end of the course teachers are awarded the Primary Teachers' Diploma [PTD] which leads to M+1 salary category. Most teachers who took this course were those who had been teaching with no professional qualification. Some of these teachers were to be found in secondary schools.

The second focus has been on school management courses for principals and teachers. This programme was first run by school inspectors. According to the 1981 Annual DET Report 6,400 primary and 100 secondary school principals were have undergone training under the scheme [DET 1981:16]. In 1988 a private company was contracted to continue the task. The assumption underlying this scheme was that the development of a crisis in black education was attributable to the problems of management. It is important to note that these sentiments are contained in the de Lange report which stresses the importance of



systematic management of educational structure. Therefore, ideological, political and institutional tensions related to patriarchy, nepotism and authoritarianism which characterised black schools were to be resolved by 'systems management'. Apple [1990:110] reminds us that the importation of managerial schemes in education has a political and ideological purpose:

*To be accurate, the systems management procedures are not interest-free. Like the reconstructed logic of the strict sciences, it is aimed fundamentally and unalterably at the regularities of human behaviour ... It is here in the creation of an abstracted individual, one who bears a total one-sided and acritical relationship to his/her social reality that we find the conservative orientation so deeply embedded in technological models of educational thought.*

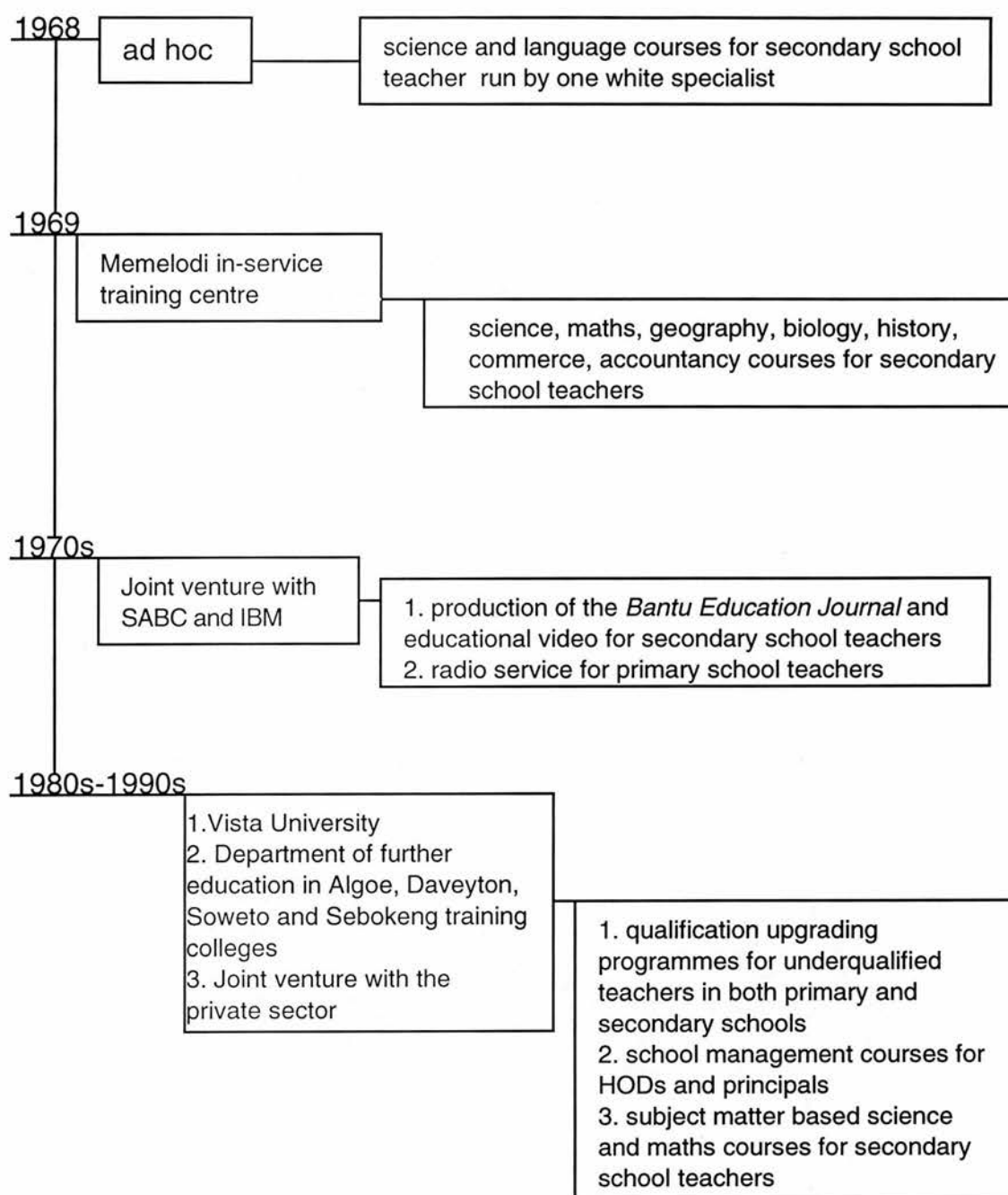
Indeed, the curriculum of this school management project stresses social orderliness which needs to be managed. Underlying this curriculum is the view that human action and behaviour can be regulated and rationalised, and that student anger can be managed and controlled by abstract concepts. Thus the teacher-student relationship and teacher community relations were to be managed rather than negotiated in a democratic climate.

Finally, the third mainstream programme was Project Alpha which provided training for mathematics teachers in standards 8 to 10. Teachers who participated in the project were expected to master 90% of the material before they could take the next module [Hartshorne 1992]. The project adopted the CBTE approach to teacher development. In addition, highly modern technology was used as learning aids. Hartshorne makes a point that the adoption of efficiency approaches and the use of technology in this project reflected government overconfidence in technology. Ironically this technology was available at the in-service centre in Pretoria

but not in the schools where teachers had to go back and implement what they had learnt. Again here an assumption is that the problems surrounding African education are related to teachers' lack of subject matter and teaching skills. And that the panacea to educational crisis is the mastering of specific predetermined material by teachers. If the teachers 'knew their stuff' problems would melt like ice. The technocratic approaches which proliferated in-service education in the 1980s were part of the modernising agenda set out in the total strategy and the de Lange Report. Equally impacting on government's educational thinking were the international influences regarding competencies and technocratic approaches to education. Since the mid 1980s South Africa's educational discourse has appeared to lean toward technicist tendencies. Educational reforms initiated in industrial democracies – notably, Britain and the USA, with their emphasis on 'efficiency and effectiveness' – gave the South African government a boost it needed to legitimate its facial lift.

In summary, it appears that the government organised teacher development in the same manner as it did with pre-service education [see fig 5: an illustration of DET teacher development schemes since 1968]. Teacher development was centralised with a teacher centre in Pretoria to serve teachers from all over South Africa. The setting up of the in-service centre in Pretoria is another sign of the government's close watch on teacher education. Bringing teachers to Pretoria rather than taking programmes to the regions was an indication of how much the government controlled teaching and teacher education. Teacher development was to be monitored in the same way as was the case for pre-service education. Second, it appears that while the government provided courses on school management and subject matter, its major concern was

the upgrading of qualifications. Amidst overwhelming evidence that the educational crisis in black schools was linked to the broader social and political issues which relate to educational provision, the government's reasoning nevertheless was that the more qualifications the teachers had the lesser the tensions that would arise. Thus the area of curriculum-related teacher development was left untouched. It was this vacuum that the NGOs set out to fill.



**Figure 5: DET Teacher Development Programmes 1968-1994**

## **Section Two**

### **NGO teacher development programmes : three examples**

#### **A brief review of business sector's involvement in black education**

The resurgence of white liberal non-governmental teacher development programmes was a result of the educational crisis in black schools and of the recommendations of the de Lange Report which had called for business sector to provide and fund non-formal adult education. The major funders of these programmes were the South African business sector. Other funders included foreign donors. To understand the ideological underpinning of these programmes it is essential to look briefly at the history of business sector involvement in black education.

In the period before 1976 the business sector had shown little interest in the provision and quality of black education. Its concern was the same as that of the Nationalist government: education should prepare blacks for manual work and develop industrious habits. In the late 1960s it showed some concern for the state of education. But as Hartshorne [1991] states, this concern was related to the changing nature of the economy rather than to the provision and the philosophy underlying Bantu Education. The two reports of the 1961 Education Panel articulate a view of education as having strong links with economic development and growth. This view influenced the nature of business involvement in education. Thus the major concern was to provide educational facilities [books and equipment] and assist in the building of schools. The donations and contributions were negotiated with the DET and the municipality



authorities who were to approve the building of black schools in urban areas.<sup>61</sup>

The aftermath of the 1976 events forced the business sector to review its policy. It responded by increasing material facilities and bursary schemes. The bursary fund was administered by the South African Institute of Race Relations [SAIRR] and the South African Council of Churches [SACC]. Donations for the building of new schools in urban areas were given to the TEACH Fund and LEARN.<sup>62</sup> The major development was the setting up of the Urban Foundation [UF] in 1977 which was backed by all major businesses and companies in South Africa. Its major thrust was on the improvement of social and education provision of blacks in urban areas. Furthermore, the Sullivan Code was introduced, and it sought to exert pressure on American companies who had investments in South Africa to introduce equal employment practice. But more importantly the code stressed the concept of 'social responsibility' whereby the signatories pledged themselves to strive for the improvement of the social life of their employees. This was to be achieved through adequate provision of housing, education, transportation, health and recreation.

The other development was the funding of secondary school projects which sought to improve the teaching and learning of science, mathematics and English in secondary schools. One of the projects born out of the new developments was the Science Education Project [SEP].

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<sup>61</sup> These municipalities were controlled by the Afrikaner civil servants.

<sup>62</sup> The TEACH Fund and Learn Fund were launched by English newspapers, the Star in Johannesburg and the Daily News in Durban. In 1977 TEACH fund built 43 schools in Soweto and 18 classrooms in Cape Town, while the LEARN fund spent R400,000 in Natal schools [Hartshorne 1991:122].

While these developments were still related to economic growth there was also an element of political concern. As discussed in chapter three the political climate post-1976 was making it impossible for business to sideline politics. There was a growing belief within the business sector that economic growth depended on political stability, and that stability would come about if blacks were given more housing, more classrooms, better tuition and company cars. Business perspectives were also strengthened by the recommendations of the Wiehahn, Riekert and de Lange Commissions discussed in chapter three.

In 1983, South Africa entered another phase of socio-economic, political and educational crisis. Political unrest, industrial strikes and school boycott intensified. The formation of the United Democratic Front [UDF] in 1983 solidified the black resistance movement. The state responded by introducing draconian measures like moving the army into the townships and in to the classrooms. The business sector responded by reassessing its funding strategies. The Urban Foundation, the Anglo American Chairman's Fund and De Beers jointly commissioned a major evaluation of SEP, the project they were funding [Hartshorne 1991, 1992]. The evaluation was carried out by the Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies at the University of Cape Town. This assessment led to the establishment of specific guidelines on funding priorities. Teacher development emerged as an important area which could contribute to educational change. Teacher development programmes as well as other relevant education projects which sought funding from the business sector had to meet the following criteria:

- programmes should be concerned with the quality of education and be concerned with equality of opportunity, access, provision and standards in education.
- they should be innovative in character, capable of influencing the system and of being applied on a national basis.
- they should offer a viable alternative approach, directed to the post-apartheid settlement.
- they should contribute to social change.
- they should prioritise the needs of the community. [Morphet, et al 1986]

These guidelines were influenced by the nature of political events. Blacks were increasingly questioning the content and philosophy of Bantu Education and the legitimacy of the DET. The black community continued to place education in the political and economic sphere, advocating its transformation rather than simply its improvement. Essentially this meant that the teaching and learning styles based on Fundamental Pedagogics, and the curriculum had to be changed. Education was seen as a tool for transformation. In this climate the business sector had to rethink its funding strategy. It was apparent that the building of schools and provision of equipment was not satisfactory to the black community since the control of education and its content was in the hands of the government which was continuing to oppress. The guidelines outlined above continued to be the criteria for funding teacher development programmes.

It is from this context that white liberal non-governmental teacher development programmes were born. In a survey conducted by Bot [1986], eighty-five teacher development programmes were identified. Fifty-four

of these were NGO and funded by the business sector and other foreign agencies.

These programmes set to fill the gaps left by the education department. Most of the programmes concerned themselves with alternative teaching methods [especially in science, mathematics and English], alternative materials, and the practical competencies of teachers. In Bot's survey only six of the NGO programmes were involved in academic qualifications. These sought to help teachers who were studying for Standard 10.

Furthermore, these programmes, like the government projects, adopted top-down approaches. Although they claimed to be democratic and less prescriptive, teachers were never consulted on the planning, viability and execution of the projects. Hartshorne [1992:273] emphasises this point:

*There was a tendency to disregard the teachers' own interests and to see them mainly as a means through which positive educational outcomes could be realised for the learners, for society and the economy. This instrumental view of the teacher the private sector shared with education departments throughout South Africa.*

Indeed, these programmes were dominated by white liberals who had connections with or were working in English-speaking liberal universities. de Vries [interviewed 1992] makes the point that overnight the teacher development movement of the 1980s turned bored white housewives into teacher educator experts. He points out, '*suddenly they all have solutions to the problems faced by black teachers*'.

Most of these programmes were housed in the continuing or adult education departments of these universities. The dominant assumption held was that teachers were deficient, a point underscored by statistical

evidence on teacher qualifications. Hence the view that a poorly qualified teacher cannot have a say in the planning of his/her own development. Thus decisions regarding the content, organisation and administration of each project reflected the broader social pattern; whites make decisions on what is best for the blacks. The racial factor in a South African context determines whether the project is democratic or not.

*Example I: Teachers' Upgrading Project [TUP]*

TUP was one of the SACHED projects.<sup>63</sup> The birth of the project was precipitated by educational reforms advocated by the de Lange Report. The project formally began in 1983; its aim was to help black teachers who were studying for the Standard 10 qualification. Teachers were recruited through the now defunct teachers' union, ATASA. They came from Soweto, Kagiso and East Rand. In 1986 the project expanded to rural areas in Orange Free State and Northern Transvaal. It was funded by the Australian Embassy, World University Services [WUS] Mobil Oil and the Ford Foundation. The central offices were in Johannesburg, with a staff of two. In all it reached over 350 teachers, the majority of whom were women and who came from primary schools [SACHED 1988 Annual Report].

At the beginning of the course an orientation session [which ran over two weekends] was conducted to introduce teachers to the programme. During this session a study skills course was conducted. This was important since most teachers who joined the project were less

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<sup>63</sup> SACHED was formed in 1959 as a non-governmental distance education college for black South Africans who wanted to correspond with the London University. The organisation has expanded ten-fold since then with projects focusing on workers education, teacher education, teenagers' magazines, office management, research and development, publication and UNISA [that is, helping students who were doing their degrees with this university].



conversant with part-time studies within a distant adult education-based model. From their own school days through to college they had been exposed to one form of learning and teaching, drilling and memorisation. Therefore the success of the project in one part depended on exposing teachers to studying strategies which were based on SACHED educational principles: learning has to be a partnership between the teachers and their tutors, and more especially so given that these teachers were adults who had acquired a wealth of experience in education. These study skills were meant to help teachers to develop strategies for independent learning and critical questioning.

At the end of the orientation session, normal tutorials began which took place every Saturday from February to September. These tutorials were first held at the Wits University's Education Department. This proved very difficult in the latter part of 1986, as few teachers attended the tutorials. For example an examination of the attendance register shows that out of the class of thirty teachers in a Biology course less than ten students were regular attendees. It was difficult for most teachers to get to Wits as the university is located far from the city centre. The public transport to Wits university on a Saturday was poor and the normal buses that passed the university were reserved for whites. Blacks were not allowed on these buses. Some teachers had to walk from the city centre to Wits, and most would arrive in the middle of a tutorial. Most tutors found it difficult to maintain the pace of their courses as they had to stop in the middle to update the teachers who arrived late. Most crucial was that most teachers were not regular attendees. So each weekend there would be new faces who were not there the previous weekend, and so on. As Kgaphola the tutor, explains:

*Honestly, I only remember five teachers who were there every Saturday. others were those who just pop in when they get a chance. And when they come they have a lot of questions on things that we have already covered with the regular lot. You really don't know whether to get angry or not. I cannot proudly say I helped twenty one teachers, I don't even know whether they passed their courses or not.*

In 1987 tutorials were moved to SACHED offices as more space was acquired. For the first few months attendance improved, but it started to drop again. It was difficult to get teachers to attend classes. Most told of family or community commitments. Another factor was the state of emergency declared in 1986 and the continual political unrest. Killings in South African townships rose and the schools were surely affected as students were at the forefront of the struggle. Inevitably teachers were affected as well.

Apart from the Saturday tutorials, extra tuition was organised during school holidays. This was called an Intensive week, where teachers were given tutorials everyday for two weeks from nine in the morning until four in the afternoon. Intensive weeks were well attended. They were the most successful aspect of the project where discussion groups and demonstrations took place.

This tuition was complemented by workbooks which were written by the Research and Development Department of SACHED. These workbooks were written in a form that encouraged independent and critical learning [see Appendix 5D [i] & [ii] : Extracts from SACHED's History and English Course Workbooks]. Although the courses were based on the official syllabus prescribed by the DET, workbooks were written in a less prescriptive manner allowing teachers to question the taken-for-granted knowledge. They were also easy to follow as compared to the official textbook. However, as one tutor noted, as the examination

approached, teachers used the textbook rather than the workbook because they would have to reproduce the facts stipulated in the textbook.

Teachers took the following courses: Afrikaans and English literature, History, Biology and Geography courses. Tutorials were offered by part-time tutors who were black teachers from high schools, Colleges of Education, SACHED staff and university students. Teachers were initially registered to sit for a non-racial examination, the Joint matriculation Board [JMB]. In later years this strategy was abandoned as the failure rate was higher than expected. Teachers reverted to a black designed examination, the National Senior Certificate [NSC] [SACHED Annual Report 1986].

A secondary aim of the project was to expose teachers to inquiry-based learning. It was envisaged that teachers would take these strategies to their classrooms. [TUP 1985]. This was hard to achieve as both tutors and teachers were a product of rote learning and teaching. Furthermore, the project did not train tutors in an inquiry-learning approach. This proved to be a source of tensions between tutors and the project staff, especially in 1987 when an American was appointed as the co-ordinator. The co-ordinator wrote a tutors' handbook prescribing how tutorials should be run, how to mark assignments, and how to alert teachers to new teaching methods. Tutors felt that it was not their job to tell teachers how to teach in their classroom, it was to assist them to pass Standard 10. education for black teachers.

Furthermore, there was little sign that teachers had acquired independent and critical skills. Tutors complained that teachers wanted them to teach rather than to conduct tutorials in the form of discussions. Indeed in 1987 some teachers failed to attend the Biology course on the

basis that the tutor was not teaching, but keen on discussing. The following year a new tutor was employed. He was a high school teacher who had just graduated. Throughout the year his tutorials were full to capacity. The reason for this is provided by this teacher:

*I passed the Biology course because Jeff was a teacher. He teaches us and chase you out of the class if you did not do your homework. I even learn to do diagrams, he wanted them in place. Jacob<sup>64</sup> is just a doctor and does not understand that we want to be taught because we are racing against time. The department wanted us to have Standard ten by the end of 1988, so you just need someone who will push you all the time .*

[Phyllis]

In 1989 the project was terminated due to teacher absenteeism and high failure rates. Most teachers decided to continue with the Teachers' Opportunity Programmes [TOPS], another NGO which was offering courses in Standard 10. The move was precipitated by the fact that TOPS had teacher centres in the townships.

In summary, the project faced many problems which are related to how teacher development was conceived. First the project never questioned the basis of the Standard 10 qualification for practising teachers. Instead, it attempted to provide better support for teachers to obtain this qualification. Secondly, the organisation of courses, that is, in terms of timing and venue, was not negotiated with the teachers. The project had no concept of teachers' social and family commitments. It failed to understand the cultural context, how it impeded or promoted teacher development. This resulted in teacher absenteeism. Notwithstanding this oversight, the project attempted to introduce teachers to alternative ways of teaching and learning. This was promoted through the workbooks and tutorials that were run on a learning partnership model. Unfortunately

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<sup>64</sup> Jacob was a medical student who did part-time tutoring for the project.

this was not well planned and articulated to effect changes in teachers' attitudes. Some teachers grasped the opportunity and improved their teaching, but most felt it was a waste of time: they just wanted to pass their examination which was externally organised and based on the prescribed syllabus. Thus a teacher development initiative conceived within the framework of Bantu Education was constrained by its philosophical and ideological assumptions. As Sparks [1990] notes, apartheid [and its education system] is both the effect and the cause. What gave rise to it flourishes with it. Essentially the concept of teachers as a deficient species flourished within the framework of Bantu Education.

*Example II: The Science Education Project [SEP]*

This project started in 1976 in the Ciskei. Over the past nineteen years it had spread to other parts of the country [Transkei, Transvaal, KwaZulu-Natal, Bophuthatswana, Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Bloemfontein]. Since its inception it has reached almost 120,000 teachers and over 15,000 schools [Macdonald 1992]. SEP is funded by local and foreign business sectors, and overseas northern NGOs and the foreign departments of Western governments in particular [see appendix 5E: List of SEP donors]. The project's central offices are in Johannesburg where the administration, research and development, fund raising, and the initiation of new regional programmes are handled.

The primary aim of the project is that students should **do** science not just **learn about** science [Macdonald 1992:20]. The project can be viewed as a response to specific conditions in black schools:

*A textbook and a printed syllabus are the only two documents with which most teachers work ... teachers spend most of their lesson times talking and very little practical work is done..*

[Mcdonald 1992: 17-18]



On the basis of its aim SEP encourages the process approach to science teaching and an emphasis on practical work. The practical work emphasises observation, classifying, measuring, comparing, hypothesising, models- making, predicting, verifying and communicating scientific information. These elements are reflected in SEP written material such as teacher's guides and student's worksheets.

The secondary aim of SEP is to develop language ability, social skills, reasoning skills and self sufficiency and initiative. SEP takes a view that 'every teacher is a language teacher'. Since science is taught in the medium of English, science teachers can develop the language proficiency of their students. In social development SEP attributes this development to observation and experimentation. The project believes that when students observe and report their findings, this will be done as honestly as possible, and that it will inculcate the habits of honesty which are necessary for everyday life. Reasoning skills are developed through practical work, and through experimentation students will not rely on the teacher to provide answers. Finally the development of self-sufficiency and initiation is based on the notion that if students are taught to discover things for themselves they will develop skills for independent learning, which is regarded as a lifetime asset [Moodie 1984].

On the basis of both the primary and secondary aims SEP has developed perhaps the most comprehensive, thorough and innovative approach to science learning and teaching in black education to date. To achieve this the project has developed as its first strategy a portable science kit which consists of eight sturdy wooden boxes containing a range of apparatus for use by students. The kits allow students to carry out

investigations guided by worksheets in about sixty general science topics [Moodie 1984]. The basic kit consists of the following sub-kits:

1. **the balance kit** [for measuring mass and the forces that turn a beam],
2. **the force and pressure kit** [for measuring forces, e.g. friction and measuring changes in pressure],
3. **the electricity kit** [for demonstrating the flow of current, measuring potential differences and resistance and the chemical effects of an electric current] and
4. **the chemical kit** [for measuring volume, heating and evaporating substances, collecting liquids and gas and carrying out a variety of chemical experiments] [see Appendix 5F: Science Kit].

The second strategy is the in-service training of teachers who are participating in SEP activities. This training consist of three phases. In phase one teachers undergo an introductory orientation course for three weeks. In this course teachers are introduced to the project, its history and purposes. They are also trained in how to use SEP material. Teachers work through worksheets and the science kit. In phase two are workshops and seminars conducted on a regular basis with teachers providing feedback on their successes or any problems they have encountered using SEP material. Also in this phase teachers are visited by SEP implementers who provide continual support. SEP set up zonal programmes with group teachers located near each other. Through this scheme teachers who participate in SEP activities meet once a month on their own to share their experiences as well as to encourage each other. This programme has produced teacher leaders who have become the contact person in that zone. The leader writes reports of teachers' meetings and articulates

teachers' needs which are then taken up by SEP. The zonal leaders have organised frequent courses for teachers.

As the zonal programme grew, SEP felt that there was a need to provide special training for zonal leaders. SEP negotiated with the British Council to provide awards for these teachers to be trained in England. It was apparent that these teachers were going to play a major role in advancing the zonal schemes. This was crucial as SEP felt that teachers should be given some form of 'ownership'. However within SEP there is much debate on what is meant by 'teacher ownership'. Implementers felt that they were still constrained by the central office in Johannesburg which controlled administration and decision-making structures. More importantly there was a feeling that teachers were not fully involved in the research and development department of the project. Nevertheless, most zonal leaders and implementers were given awards for further training in England. Most went to Leeds University and Chelsea College, University of London for three-month courses. There was a debate on the viability of overseas courses. Some felt that the training of zonal leaders had to take place in South Africa. But the British Council felt that the benefits of removing the teachers to a new social and educational environment would outweigh the disadvantages of uprooting them [Macdonald 1992:81]. Since 1982 one hundred and fifty teachers have undergone overseas training [SEP 1992 Annual Report].

The third strategy is comprehensive evaluation covering the material, teachers' and pupils' attitudes, achievement and reasoning skills. SEP material is continually updated through its research and development department. This updating is based on the evaluation of teachers' and pupils' feedback as well as through the syllabus changes. It is

important to note that SEP material is based on the prescribed school syllabus. The view was that if SEP were to develop an alternative curriculum teachers and students would be sceptical of using it. This is so since the end-of the year examinations are based on the prescribed syllabus. Thus a major concern for teachers and students is how best to pass the examinations.

In summary the SEP approach to teacher development is based on a 'technological perspective' [Macdonald 1992:4]. All the material is centrally developed, teaching methods are decided by SEP staff. Teachers are regarded as passive agents of change who just implement innovation conceived in a top-down manner. Even when issues of ownership are considered, teachers are still not part of the decision-making structure in terms of curriculum development, funding strategies, and administration of the project. Furthermore, as with TUP, the SEP notion of teacher development is conditioned by the official syllabus. Materials written only attempt to present this syllabus in a better form.

*Example III: English Language Teaching and Information Centre [ELTIC]*

In 1973 the English Academy<sup>65</sup> held a conference at Roma University in Lesotho, with participants from all over Southern Africa. The conference proposed that there should be a resource centre based in South Africa to provide:

*... support to teachers in the field and to act as a clearing house for new ideas, methods and materials in teaching English to speakers of other languages.* [Hartshorne 1992:315]

The ELTIC project is a result of this proposal.

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<sup>65</sup> The English Academy was established in 1961 and aims to tackle problems surrounding the teaching of English to the speakers of other languages in Southern Africa.

Donations of books to the library come from the British Council and various publishers. Financial funding is provided by grants from overseas and local donors [Appendix 5G: ELTIC donors]. Over the years the project has expanded its activities.

First, it produces its own journal called ELTIC Reporter which carries articles from overseas and local contributors. These articles range from contributions in the field of language theory to teaching English literature and through to teaching materials in the classroom.

Secondly, it runs a teacher development programme called the Outreach Project. This project is school-based and seek to promote teacher-initiated developmental activities. To achieve this, seventeen high school teachers were given scholarship awards for three months' training in England. The courses were held at Ealing College in London and Christ Church College in Canterbury. The courses cover the area of English Language Teaching at Secondary Level. In addition, teachers are trained in workshop skills in order to run courses for their peers. On their return these teachers organise with ELTIC support workshops for other teachers to snowball their training. A total of 476 teachers have attended these workshops [ELTIC Annual Report, 1991].

Primary school teachers are supported by the development of teaching material for use in the classroom. The emphasis here has been on methodology and the everyday use of English in the school. Conferences and workshops are held from time to time to allow teachers to come together and exchange ideas. The school-based model, with workshops at local venues has encouraged teachers to be less dependent on ELTIC. Since these workshops are organised at the grassroots level, attendance is far



greater than when teachers are expected to come to the city centre [discussion with Monica and Paul 1992].

The Outreach Project also networks with other programmes which are concerned with the teaching of English language. In most cases joint workshops with these projects are organised by teachers. The teachers who were sent to England are also involved in the management structures of ELTIC. They also organise fund raising events. Through observation, teachers are taken as equal partners.

In 1985 the ELTIC Farm School Project was started. The rationale for the Farm Schools Project is articulated as follows:

*Farm school teachers constitute a disempowered community in a variety of ways. They are technically employed by DET, but are de facto employees of the farmers on whose land the schools are located.*

The farmers are Afrikaners who insist that Afrikaans should be the medium of instruction. As such the English language proficiency of these teachers is poor. It is on this basis that ELTIC decided to expand its facilities to these teachers. The areas covered are Magaliesburg, Bronkhortspruit and Brits in Western Transvaal. Intensive courses are run for teachers and they are supported by school visits. The courses are residential and take place during school holidays. The planning of these courses is done in collaboration with teachers. Even the development of material is a joint activity between ELTIC staff and teachers. In 1992 during the first phase of interviewing, Farm School teachers in collaboration with the Outreach teachers planned a big conference in which they presented papers and debated issues related to English language teaching. ELTIC thus became the first teacher development organisation that sought to empower teachers to take charge of their development.

## Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to describe the nature and form of teacher development practices in South Africa. What emerged from this description is that teacher development which is conceived in a racially defined society is in turn conditioned by the ideologies and social practices of this order. White domination is also reflected in teacher development, white whether conservative or liberal are the people in charge of planning and determining teacher development courses. The knowledge power axis in this context takes a trans-national pattern. Knowledge production and dissemination is thus based on race. The whites constitute the 'core' in terms of the monopoly they exercise over research, [its planning and execution] initiating and directing the development of a teacher development programme. Blacks on the other hand are on the periphery of knowledge production and dissemination.

Secondly teacher development whether organised by DET or NGO is centralised. Although NGO claim that their programmes are decentralised most of the decisions regarding the development of curriculum, direction and funding of the projects are centrally determined. Thirdly, like practices elsewhere, the emphasis of teacher development is on skills training. This means that the effect and influence of technicist thinking was also felt in South Africa which, many claim, was cut off from international educational developments [Kallaway 1988]. Furthermore the emphasis on English and Science reflected new thinking in educational discourse since the publication of the de Lange Report. Finally, the emphasis on qualifications symbolised that in South Africa like the rest of the developing world, notably Africa, upgrading of academic qualifications constituted a greater part of the teacher

development movement. However there is a difference between other African countries and South Africa. This difference centres on the purposes of upgrading the academic qualifications of teachers. In African countries the purpose is to produce better qualified teachers who will in turn influence the quality of education in general. In South Africa this movement was explicitly linked to income benefits. This is so since the agenda of the tripartite alliance discussed in chapter three was to create a black middle class.

However, other projects like ELTIC have adopted a teacher development approach which fosters democracy and teacher empowerment. The developments in ELTIC have been made possible by the fact that the skills which ELTIC sought to develop were not prescribed by DET. This allowed them to search for alternative ways of empowering teachers. More importantly, ELTIC took the view that teachers are partners in the development of their education and that despite their low qualification, they are nonetheless not deficient.

Having described teacher development practices, it is now possible to present teachers' rationales for participating in a teacher development project and their experiences and perceptions of these. Thus chapter six and seven present teachers' accounts.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Teachers' Rationales for Participating in Teacher Development Programmes**

*Aren't no other kid on the block* [Eric, a teacher from Kagiso]

## **Introduction**

This chapter presents teachers' rationales for participating in DET and NGO programmes as well as studying for a degree or diploma at other universities. The themes presented here are drawn from questions used throughout the interviews. The questions which yielded the most evidence relevant to this analysis were: How would you describe your childhood? What motivates you to study or participate in a seminar or workshop? What influences your teaching? Are you the teacher you want to be? In total, seven themes emerged out of teachers' responses: [1] pre-professional experiences, [2] critical incidents, [3] status and mobility, [4] motherhood and role modelling, [5] 'aren't no other kid on the block', [6] peer pressure and [7] commitment to teaching.

## **Pre-professional experiences**

Childhood experiences act as a lifelong reference and they influence the way in which teachers conduct themselves either in the classroom situation or outside it. From an analysis of teachers' biographies, regardless of gender, ethnicity, grade level, age and other contextual teaching factors, pre-professional history appears to invoke meaning to certain choices that teachers make. There are various sources and influences from which teachers' pre-occupational orientation is drawn. These influences are: parents, school teachers, relatives, neighbours, friends, the nature of the family, religion, ethnicity and location.

Accounts from the following teachers provide insights into an amalgam of unique pre-occupational history and teacher development.



For Granny the nature of the family brushes against her professional development:

*I could say that my mother is a great influence in my life, Eh! ... she was a very strong woman, she endured a lot of hardships from my father who physically abused her. She used to teach us that in life you do not bend down, don't allow nature to bend you, you must administer to the nature ... that is why nature abhors a vacuum, it means that when there is vacuum you must make sure there is something there ... The second person who gave me this strength is my father, he was very negative towards me, you know. He taught me that a person has to live under odds, he was an odd to me ... And when my father has to buy me something, he would not feel free to do so ... When I passed my standard 6 he told me to go and work while my brother and sister were at boarding schools in Mafikeng, he even tried to marry me to a distant relative in Zimbabwe. I used to cry a lot, but I realised that crying won't help. I need to stand up on my own. I said to myself, 'I am going to fix this man, I am going to show him that out of nothing there will be something'.*

An analysis of Granny's professional life and the chronicle of her professional development activities reveal that her pedagogy is inseparable from her unhappy childhood background. She is involved in child abuse committees in Soweto, attends seminars and workshops on counselling, liaises with social workers, doctors and psychologists, parents, organises self-help projects and has done an honours degree in psychology. Such activities, as she puts it:

*... have made me a Jack of all trades: I am a teacher in the class, I am a counsellor, even counselling other teachers..., I am a social worker, I am a parent as well, not only to my kids but also to the ones who are abused daily.*

Granny has drawn strength from her deprived and abusive background. She has emerged with a personality that embraces the need to succeed, survive, protect and confront. For other teachers such elements are derived from their experiences as blacks in South Africa. A common feature in the teachers' accounts is that they come from socially and

economically-deprived homes. This common background shapes and influences their goals, dreams and aspirations. As Tshepo explains:

*We need to realise that we are also resourceful as black people, that is why my dream is to make sure that my students are positive about themselves, even if they are poor.*

Most teachers pointed out that their parents were uneducated but, nevertheless, sacrificed a lot to see them educated to levels determined by the white power structure. For the majority of teachers interviewed parental sacrifice seemed to be one of the many childhood factors that motivated teachers to seek higher qualifications. This is taken to be a gesture of appreciation for what their parents did for them:

*My mum used to wake up at 3 in the morning to go to the mine compound to sell fat cakes and tea to the mine workers ... now we were a family of seven, don't ask me what happened to dad because I do not know ... but all of us are educated ... I have never stopped studying in my life ... I just go on and on ... I want my mum to know in her grave that her labours were not peanuts. I want to please her, she is **idlozi lami** [my ancestor].*

[Elaine]

A traditional belief in African culture is that when members of the family die they become Amadlozi [ancestors] who guide, intervene on your behalf in trying times and punish you when you transgress the cultural laws of the family. Almost all Africans in South Africa, regardless of ethnic background, venerate their ancestors. For Christians, their ancestors become an intermediary between them and God. Sylvia accords her long life and her success in getting a degree at the age of 50 to her parents. As she puts it:

*... my parents who are nearer to God have asked God to give me a long life and to be successful in that life.*

Non-Christians worship them in a traditional manner. They slaughter a cow or sheep in a ceremony they call 'the spilling of the blood' so that the ancestors reconnect with the living. Mekhoe states:

*Each time I pass a course or get an opportunity of going abroad I spill blood to thank my ancestors and say, this one is for you, dad, where you are I know you are proud of me.*

However, some teachers' family histories are not characterised by deprivation and sad images. In such cases religion and class status of the parents appear to play a significant role. According to the SABC [1995] 70% of South Africans are Christians. Mosala and Tlhagale [1986] attribute this to the comparable values of Christianity and the African culture of 'ubuntu botho' – the belief in sharing and giving to another. In this culture the value of individual worth finds its expression in the communal context of participatory humanism.

Mosala and Tlhagale argue that the notions of humanity found in Christianity are in harmony with those of African communal culture. However, they point out that not all values of both systems are compatible. Conflict arises when emphasis is placed on an individual [the norm in Christianity] rather than on the community [African view] rights.

Fifty-five [92%] teachers in this study go to church every Sunday and admit that their lives to a great extent are shaped by Christianity. Eight [13%] teachers came from homes where fathers were church ministers. For example, Idah describes her Christian background and how it influences her professional life:

*My father was a bishop. I was also married to a bishop and all my sisters are married to priests. Our parents wanted us to do that. And I really love the church, it's me. What I do in school is similar to what I do in church. I organised music classes both at school and in the church. I have done my teacher upgrading in music. My church is also benefiting, like the school.*

Another of these eight teachers is Spinkie who comes from both a Christian and a middle-class background. Her father is a church minister and a retired teacher. Christian and middle-class values appear to be the driving force behind her professional education. She admits that the combination of Christian and African values of humanity has encouraged her to do teacher development in labour and gender studies. Her professional development, she argues, is not about skills improvement or qualifications but rather about teacher empowerment. She points out that her father's teaching encouraged her to be a champion of human rights in general.

Other childhood experiences are related to schooling experiences which leave indelible marks on teachers' professional lives. For the majority of teachers interviewed, the experiences they had during their primary schooling are different from high school education. Most have positive images of their primary teachers and appear to be influenced by them. Research evidence [Sikes 1985, Nias 1985] suggests that the relationship between pupils and their primary teachers is more parental than is the case when pupils reach high school. Forty-four [73%] teachers said that their primary teachers influenced them to be the teachers they are. Baby explains:

*I got much of teaching influence, ... I can say ... ee! at Matshidiso higher primary school. We had a very influential ee! teacher there by the name of Modisana Modise, ... I wonder if you know him. He taught me from standard 3-5. I was his favourite boy, I sang some solo parts in the school choir. Whenever I want to introduce something in class I think of him and say, 'by the way how did he handle this?'.*

For some teachers this romantic view of their primary teachers no longer holds. For instance, Ezra has since altered his position:



*At the beginning I used to admire eeh! ... certain teachers whom I think had a bearing on my teaching. All teachers used the methods of the teacher they admired most ... But later on as I moved up, developing myself, I realised that, no man, a certain teacher was not teaching me, he was on holiday. Now if I didn't upgrade myself I would be continuing with wrong methods of teaching, and if you do not read as a teacher you will produce children who will become teachers and taking wrong methods from you.*

Of the twenty science, and maths teachers interviewed sixteen [33%] attributed their rationales to high school experiences. They pointed out that they attended high schools which had no laboratories or equipment. For these teachers high school was unpleasant. They also talked of situations where they did not have a teacher in these subjects. Even if they had teachers most of them the lacked necessary expertise to teach science and maths. This resulted in teachers failing to honour their periods. Lauretta describes her high school education:

*When I started standard eight we did not have a science teacher ... so we worked with my class mates as a group, we used to read a textbook word by word and em ... at that time I felt I am going to be a teacher who will not just teach, but will excel in science. So I have joined the SEP to live up to my dream.*

In Ngcwabaza's case his maths and science teacher in standard 9 was very negative towards the class. His classmates wrote a petition against this teacher. They proceeded to the next class without a teacher. They sought assistance at the SAIRR which provided study guides. He explained the negative attitude of this teacher:

*The people who were teaching us, I thought they didn't like their professions, they were quite poor, but noble as you look at them. When you look at the material things they were suffering, they did not have cars.*

Other schooling experiences are associated with bullying. Esther, who is a victim of bullying, points out that the incident has created some paranoia about friends. As a result she does not have friends and spends



much of her time studying. But the motive behind studying is to get back at the bullies:

*I do not want to be a teacher only, one day I want to be a professor, that is my dream. Each day I attend a lecture, I walk to the lecture room with that dream. The day I become one I will invite the teachers and the bullies who called me 'Jomo Sono'<sup>66</sup>. I'll do this just to spite them. I want them to see what I can achieve.*

From the above accounts it is possible to suggest that childhood memories can provoke one to take particular actions to confront the future. Backgrounds are one of the important ingredients in the dynamic of teacher development. Teachers' childhood experiences are both idiosyncratic and unique.

## Critical Incidents

Biographical research from other countries shows that in each profession there are critical incidents or phases which provoke individuals into taking action [Measor 1985, Nias 1985 ]. Measor [1985:62] identifies three factors which may produce these incidents: extrinsic [produced by historical events], intrinsic [found within an individual's career] and personal types. It is during these periods that major decisions are taken about one's future. From the biographies of teachers Measor's types of critical incidents were identified. In a South African context, however, this study found that the extrinsic and intrinsic are in most cases, shaping each other.

First, the *extrinsic type* is more to do with the political events in South Africa. From teachers' accounts three historical events influenced them to make choices about their education. These events are the 1986-

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<sup>66</sup> Jomo Sono is a famous footballer who has a big forehead. It is common for black South Africans to nickname people who have these features as 'Jomo Sono'.

1992 state of emergency, the political violence of the 1980s and the 1994 democratic elections. While these events affected every black South African, nevertheless, they have had a particularly marked impact on teachers' professional lives. This is due to the political violence and the state of emergency. The schools were the terrain where the conflict between the state power and the black community was waged. It was youth who were at the forefront of the political struggle. As a consequence, as noted in previous chapter, schools were taken over by the army. With these events the culture of learning and effective teaching was undermined. Some teachers were either arrested or harassed, or 'exiled' from school. These events affected teachers' careers, resulting in some cases in mass teacher resignations, uncertainty and demotivation.

For Ntombi, it was the state of emergency and the political feud between the UDF and Inkatha in Natal that provoked her to go abroad and further her studies:

*One could say that the signs were there ... this regime did not have any answers to the problem they created. I lived in hiding when our teachers' cottage was burnt down by Inkatha. One had to leave, to seek more knowledge, to prepare to lead and change the education system.*

Eric, who has a similar account, responded to the situation differently. He undertook extensive research on the psyche of a South African soldier. He then organised workshops and seminars for other teachers whose schools were camping sites of the SADF. Through these gatherings which, in most cases, were disrupted by soldiers, teachers were able to criticise and analyse their situation with fresh eyes. This kind of teacher-directed teacher development helped them to cope, relatively, with the situation.

Eighteen [90%] teachers from Durban said that getting involved in a teacher development project like SEP saved them from being identified as Inkatha or UDF.

*In a situation where you hardly trust your neighbour or relative ... you have to find ways of surviving in the township. I would attend SEP workshops and seminars, and ee! ... made a point that my neighbours know where I am. I rather prefer to be called Undebenkulu,<sup>67</sup> rather than be known to be Inkatha or UDF member ... otherwise you die.*

In Durban, as in the whole of Natal, people live communally compared with Johannesburg. There is very little privacy and individualism in that area. People know each other very well; so much so that when there is a visitor in the area the whole township will know about him or her. How each family lives, its comings and goings, are a matter of public knowledge. Because of this communalism it is easy to know who belongs where in terms of political membership. Teachers in Durban have utilised professional development for survival purposes.

On the other hand, some teachers engaged in professional development not for survival but rather to show appreciation. Tshepo's story illuminates this:

*In 1991 when I started teaching one of our students was killed by Inkatha from Mzimhlophe hostel. So, as staff we went to the funeral. We came back from eeh ... the cemetery, and ... and while we were having lunch the Zulus came to attack again and I was shot. Students came to my rescue, they took me to the car running like mad dogs saying, 'our Tiza [teacher] should not die'. You know I am alive today because of those students and this incident strengthened my resolve to be a best teacher just for their sake. This is the reason I go to seminars and collect any*

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<sup>67</sup> Undebenkulu is a character in a fictional novel called 'Inkintshela yase Mngungudlonvu' [The Pietermaritzburg Tycoon]. The novel has been one of the main reading material prescribed for schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The character, Ndebenkulu boasts about his education claiming that he has many degrees from abroad. He also claims that he associates with prestigious people from the white community.

*material I could lay my hands on. They saved my life. I also need to save them not necessarily from bullets but from ignorance.*

Another important historic event for teachers is the birth of a new nation. The second stage of interviewing shows that forty [67%] teachers who in 1992 were involved in non-certificate awarding programmes like SEP, and ELTIC were in 1994 busy with degrees. For these teachers a democratic South Africa signalled a new horizon in their careers. It gave them hope of '*crossing the Rubicon*', as Ezra puts it. For him this means teaching in a white school:

*With the birth of a new dispensation eeh ... we might find ourselves teaching in what was previously white schools. So we must arm ourselves with certain skills that will make us acceptable to those cultural groups who look down upon a black teacher. We must come up with something that will make them look at us differently.*

And for Mrs Mabaso it means moving to higher places within the education system:

*Truly speaking I do not see myself ending in this office ... I am busy with my honours with RAU as I want to be up there. This for me is a ladder for higher places ... I will end somewhere up there, but within the teaching fraternity. I want to find myself in a position where I can help and advise other teachers, not in this school but in other areas as well.*

Matomi wants to open a clinical psychology centre in Soweto where he can train other teachers on how to deal with traumatised children. He is preparing himself for this task by undertaking an honours degree in clinical psychology at Wits University.

Second, while the *intrinsic type* incidents are closely linked to extrinsic ones, as pointed out earlier, there are, however, some that are institutionally based. Twenty [33%] primary and high school teachers in this sample did not have Standard 10. DET threatened them with dismissal and the matter provoked a critical phase in their professional

lives. They point out that they felt betrayed and belittled by a government which in 1954 had told them that they were adequately educated:

*I lost complete confidence when I had to do standard 10, it was rather difficult for me, not that I was unable to teach, but it had a negative impact on me as a person.* [Florence]

Feeling negative towards oneself was not only brought about by the government's threat. There was antagonism towards black teachers. Students accused them of being apolitical and conservative; parents saw them as failing in their jobs because they could not control the youth; and the academic community labelled them as deficient and lacking. For the majority of teachers this period was a testing time for them and, as Nomahlubi put it:

*We woke up the next day to be enemies of the community we thought we were uplifting; no one wanted to listen to our side of the story'*

Job insecurity was coupled with the realisation that new graduates were better qualified than the old guard. This caused tensions within the teaching force and there were clear divisions between young and old teachers. However, some teachers did not feel threatened by the new graduates, they saw them as a challenge:

*Upgrading in new ways of teaching puts us on an equal par with the new wave of teachers, That motivated me, I didn't want to be left trailing behind ... I did not want to teach a verb out of context. With old methods we used to just, 'hey! today I am going to teach a verb, tomorrow a noun and we had no concept of the context within which we situate this.* [Jeannette]

Most of these new graduates were the products of the 1976 school uprising. They were highly politicised and, as Joan points out:

*They exposed our narrow mindedness and cowardice, we could not hide any more but we had to face the music.*



They came with new ways of handling the students, they were more vocal and critical than their counterparts.

Following extrinsic and intrinsic factors which provoke individuals to take actions, are the *personal -type* incidents. The most common incidents in this category are the death of a family member, divorce, the birth of a child, disappointments in one's social life, near-death incidents [like a car accident] and family feuds. In Idah's case when her husband passed away she had to move out of the mission to make way for the new bishop and his family. Her relationship with the new bishop was sour. She was marginalised, and the church members were divided over this matter. She felt so empty as she realised that she could not worship freely in her church. Eventually she stopped going to church. *'I had to feel the gap created by this incident'*, she continues:

*I then channelled my energies into upgrading and I do not regret it. It was the rebirth of my career.*

For Montoa, her professional development is meant to set a good example to her sisters-in-law, who, she claims, want to destroy the family. She has taken up religious studies in order to show them the *'essence of love and appreciation'*. And for Eszra, a terrible car accident which affected the effective running of the family forced him to stop drinking alcohol and the whole business of *'hanging with buddies'* in the shebeen. To make up for his past mistakes he now lives a *'constructive'* life:

*I spend my time at home helping my children with homework, on Tuesdays and Thursdays I'm at Wits studying.*

Five women divorcees in this sample admit that a life without their partners is 'blissful'. Through professional development they are able to recreate their lives and identities.

## **Status and Mobility**

Studies conducted into the social status of teachers have shown that teachers are predominantly drawn from working-class backgrounds and fill the middle-class strata of society. In America and Britain there is growing evidence that teachers' middle-class status is under threat because of cuts in the education budget and public dissatisfaction with education. The social mobility of teachers in these circumstances is greatly reduced.

In South Africa in the 1980s the government and its alliance with businessmen sought to increase the status and social mobility of black teachers. This programme, as has been shown in chapters three and five, was aimed at creating a black middle class. It was linked to the qualification structure. That is, the more qualifications teachers had, the higher their salary. As a result, a frenzy of academic paper-chase syndrome engulfed black South African teachers. Indeed, between 1983 and the latter part of 1992 the rationales for professional development were linked to the salary structure.

In 1992, during the first phase of data collection, only two [3%] out of the selected sixty teachers linked professional development to classroom improvement and personal development. Fifty-eight [97%] categorically stated that it was for salary purposes. In 1994, in the second phase of interviews immediately after the first democratic election, teacher development as personal development was a theme for more than forty [67%] teachers. In 1995 a third phase of interviews was conducted. This phase coincided with the integration of all 19 departments of education and the introduction of compulsory schooling for all South African children regardless of colour and other social factors. In this instant only

six [10%] teachers stated salary as the main motivation for development. The rest of the sample [90%] linked teacher development to personal and community development, as well as to the notion of nation building. What is the explanation for such shifts at different stages of data collection?

Shifts in perceptions seem to relate very much to historical events and shifts in cultural practices and belief taking place in South Africa. In 1992, when the first interviews were conducted, South Africa was a country at war with itself. Talks over political settlement were weakened and undermined by massacres, from Boipatong to Bisho. Schooling in particular was greatly affected. Teachers were on 'chalk down' campaigns over salaries. The newly-born teachers' union, SADTU was fighting for a place in civil society and positioning itself for future challenges. Far more important is that the country's economy was sinking deeper into crisis, with the rate of inflation above 12% [Weekly Mail, June 1992].

With the advent of a government-sponsored status and mobility agenda, most teachers took mortgages and moved to black suburbs like Diepkloof Extension and Protea North. Mortgages and suburbs go hand-in-hand with specific belief systems associated with middle-class life-style. To be a member of a black middle class in South Africa is a taxing business. In the light of extreme poverty as well as limited opportunities for most blacks, this group is envied and serves as a role model for others. Driving a car, for example, is taken as a sign of achievement in education. As one teacher commented to the author [who congratulated her for driving a BMW, not knowing it was a hired car]:

*Congratulations, Miss Moyo, yes I like it this way. It is morally and ethically right for people to show that they have achieved degrees!!!*

Having a four-bedroom house, a car and kids who go to multi-racial schools is also part of the package of being middle class. The pressure put on this group not to falter can have serious financial ramifications – and all the more so, since they live in a culture of an extended family. They have to live up to the middle-class image accorded to them by the community. They must eat well and have expensive clothes. The standards for this image have been set by white South Africans who live in opulence.

It was this context that influenced teachers' economic rationales for upgrading. Even teachers who were engaged in NGO in-service programme [these are non-degree programmes] felt that they should be rewarded certificates so as to get more money. In 1992 Angeline said this about certificates:

*We just need to be rewarded certificates, we do make an effort, we use our brain. This thing will motivate teachers, at least, when they look at their certificates hanging on the wall they should also tell something about their bank accounts.*

Another explanation of the issue of salary is that black teachers are part of a community that has certain beliefs about family. While most teachers live a life that could be characterised as middle class they, nonetheless, adhere to certain cultural beliefs which constitute one's identity. The idea of an extended family is as immediate to almost every black person as a fish is to water. In teachers' accounts relatives like aunts, uncles, cousins were either living with or financially supported by them. The spirit of the extended family is that those who have a salaried future or stable income should help others. This stems from the notions of humanity which governed the culture of black South Africa. The notions of humanity are captured in the phrase *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* [people are people through other people]. In a country where there is no

welfare system, and where the lives of millions are characterised by unemployment and extreme poverty, salaried members of the extended family are bound to carry the welfare load. To live a bourgeois life within the cultural norms of the extended family is taxing for most teachers. Thus certification for the purposes of better salary has to be understood in this context.

In the 1994 interview Angeline had this to say about teacher development:

*When I completed my degree last year, and I realised that qualifications are not about money, they are for personal development. For me every little thing I do now, it doesn't matter how little, it enriches intellectually.*

A shift in Angeline's perception is representative of many teachers interviewed during 1994. These perceptions reflect changes taking place in the country at all levels of society politically, educationally and economically. At the time of these interviews SADTU had firmly established itself within the teaching fraternity. It won many battles over conditions of service, including salary packages for black teachers. By the end of 1993 all teachers in South Africa regardless of race and gender were paid the same salary on the basis of category bands. Thus, during interviews, the salary issue was less urgent. At the same time the country was returning to some form of 'normality'. Despite unresolved problems in black education, children returned to schools.

In 1995, on the final leg of data collection, a new phenomenon in teacher development was identified - teacher development as community development and nation-building. Again, Angeline's comments illustrate this shift:

*Before all this **mofirifiri** [crisis] I've always wanted to contribute to the development of our community, and I think teaching is*



*community development. Now I am doing this course at Wits because of the changing situation in South Africa, A new South Africa will need managerial skills because schools won't be run like before, some skills of some sort will be needed. We are going through transformation and transformation needs to be managed. It cannot happen on its own. For children to see change they must see it through their teachers and their daily interaction with them. For example, there is now a lot of consultation with children even when we are about to change the school timetable. So children should feel and see that things are no longer run in the old ways. So managerial skills allow me to implement these ideas*

Again, it is possible to relate Angeline's comments to a socio-political dispensation. Most teachers, particularly the ones in high schools, relate their ongoing professional development to unfolding political events. The dawn of a new nation has given them a boost and also a new insight into their role in the transformation process. In 1995, there was serious consideration among teachers of what is relevant to their situations in terms of professional development. In this analysis the relationship between salary structure and teacher development is a dynamic process which in South Africa is shaped by socio-political and economic changes. Evidence from the above analysis suggests that status and mobility are not only linked to pay, but also to the notions of self and community. Teachers in this study appear to define status and mobility in relation to unfolding developments in the socio-political and education system.

Second, within the theme of status and mobility is the issue of promotion. In this sample only three [5%] teachers commented on development for the purposes of promotion. For Mrs Mabaso and Granny who are both deputies, teacher development is also influenced by a desire to take up posts as principals. Mrs Mabaso explains her motives:

*One other thing is that at the moment the position that I anticipate as a principal, I cannot sit back. If you are to lead you must be equipped qualification wise ... I have teachers who are graduates, who have BEds, well one is studying for Master's ... And to have the confidence to stand in front of them, you can't just stand bare handed. At least you must be equivalent to them if you cannot be above them. I think that is what is pushing me now.*

Perhaps the reason why many teachers do not aspire to positions such as principals is because the image of the principal in South African black schools is that of a government tool. For many teachers it is not an enviable post. During the teacher 'chalk -down' campaign in 1992 many principals, as Mrs Mabaso, pointed out, 'were exiled from schools'. The tension between teachers and principals is still to be resolved. Sarah who is the HOD believed that SADTU has done more damage to teacher-principal relationship. She feels that SADTU had created an authority vacuum. As a result teachers are no longer accountable to anyone. Teachers feel that the old structure of the education system ought to be phased out because of the new political dispensation in the country. The hierarchical relationship between principals and teachers is perceived to be undemocratic by a majority of teachers.

## **Motherhood and role modelling**

Motherhood in African families is accorded very high status. Once a woman starts having children she ceases to be called by her name; she becomes the mother of so and so. When a woman is a mother she can then be called upon to make decisions on important family matters. For example, she can advise on issues related to *lobolo* [a gift of cattle given to the family of the bride by the bridegroom as a gesture of appreciation]. She is regarded as both a counsellor and a family educator, as well as a pillar of the nation. Within this tradition there are inherent expectations of

women. They are expected to lead a 'respectable' life. This is taken to symbolise one's own respect. The belief is that such conduct will reciprocate good moral behaviour among the younger generation and society at large. Indeed, a majority of teachers fifty-one [85%], regardless of gender, age and urban-rural divide admit that their mothers were the most influential persons in their lives. Even though their mothers were not educated, they 'instilled a self respect motto' in them.

The belief system of motherhood as nation-building is reflected in the responses teachers gave about the role of teacher development in their personal and professional lives as women. Women teachers, thirty-eight in this study regardless of age and teaching location [that is, primary or high school] point out that one of the reasons they are developing professionally and personally is because they want to set a 'good example' both to their children and to the students they teach. They saw this as their duty as '*mothers of a nation*':

*We are creators of life and we need to see that each life through our development is given a chance to blossom.*

Cherly describes mens' interests:

*Our men are just concerned about themselves ... they spend their time in shebeens talking politics and football, you name it ... cars and about their adulterous affairs. They hardly supervise their children on school matters ... you can't really rely on them that much to set a good record.*

Women teachers are also concerned that there are few role models in African communities who can instil the learning culture eroded by political events in South Africa. They point out that these events have tarnished their image as teachers, but not as mothers. It is, as Jessie states, the mother image on which all women teachers have to rebuild their

professional reputations. Motherhood, she continues, '*has a bird's eye view, we look at life in all angles*'. Nhlahla explains the bird's view:

*If we just sit and do nothing about our own education as teachers, what lessons do these kids learn from us ... If we are also afraid of 'ologies' and 'isms' how do we expect them to go ahead? They will think that education ends after standard 10. Then they go and steal your own car. Would you blame them? These are our children, and as a mother you think of how difficult it is to give birth, you can't just let them die while they are alive.*

Another interesting facet to this theme was the issue of women's empowerment. This was reflected in responses of most younger unmarried teachers as well as divorcees. Their professional development was viewed as one of the many strategies aimed at combating teenage pregnancy and the general exploitation of women. Dorothy points out that in her school all women teachers have agreed that when one of them passed a degree or diploma they celebrated at school, inviting girls to dine with them. It is no use, as Maleka [who teaches with Dorothy] explains:

*... to hammer the issue of contraceptives and howl like a wolf, you should expose them to some positives things.*

In a similar vein, Cherly organises many visits for her students. These visits take them to historically white schools where they have an opportunity to talk to their white counterparts. She also organises talks where she invites women to come and talk about their experiences as women.

*My development, I see it as not made in folder and file as this government wants it to be. While I gain from skills upgrading, I also take the initiative, which I see as development ... I go out to find positives models for my students. Life should not rotate in these ghettos where they end up holding fatherless and HIV positive babies. I think this is all to do with motherly instincts ... you look at them you say they are my kids too.* [Cherly]

It is apparent that women teachers see their education as having a motherly push. Their professional development is seen as a motivation for both the families and other children. Sylvia's account of her development sums up this theme. When she graduated her two boys were encouraged also and they are both studying law at Natal University. But more significant is the fact that children in her neighbourhood look at her with admiration and have come to her for advice. Since her graduation they call her a 'ugogo *weJazi*' [a granny with an academic gown]

Therefore, it can be suggested that through their professional development women teachers seek, consciously or unconsciously, to motivate, shape, reconstruct and create. They want their students as well as their children to view education as a lifelong process. They are keen to shape the lives of the children they come into contact with. As Thembisile puts it:

*I want to produce doctors, lawyers who will not be just doctors to make money, but they must be morally-inclined persons.*

Women teachers view their professional development as a process of reconstruction in both educational and social terms. Through this process, the learning culture can be restored and black role models may emerge. Finally, through the cultural notions of motherhood, they hope to restore the tainted image of a black teacher in South Africa.

### **'Aren't no other kid on the block'**

In a South African context it is frequently taken for granted that all blacks are the same [they are an oppressed group] and the same yardstick applies to whites [they are all oppressors and racists]. No matter how strong and pervasive certain aspects of our shared social or occupational culture may be, or how effective individuals are socialised into it, the



actions and attitudes of each person are rooted in her/his own ways of viewing the world. Nias [1989:153] makes the observation that:

*... who and what people perceive themselves to be matters as much as what they can do.*

This is certainly the case for teachers involved in this study. The notion of self was illuminated by the responses to two questions: [1] are you the teacher you want to be? and [2] what is your dream in life? Responses to these questions were either '*yes, I am the teacher I want to be, but I still want to be a better teacher*', or '*no I am not the teacher I dream of, that is why I am studying*'. Either way, such responses show that teachers were constantly searching and shaping a specific image of themselves as individuals. A cumulative effect of this search is to be found in the educational crisis facing black schooling. Teachers were often labelled government tools and accused of implementing a 'gutter education'. Such labels are reflected in Sisulu's [1986:265] 'acclaimed' paper on the relationship between Peoples' Education and the struggle for liberation.

*We call upon those teachers following the path of collaboration to abandon that path. Some teachers have allowed themselves to be used as tools to victimise student leaders and progressive teachers. Others have been used as vigilantes against the struggles of their own communities.*

It is clear that Sisulu, in his use of words such as "some teachers", tried to put a view that not all teachers were engaged in the collaborative activities he mentioned. Nevertheless, in a situation like the one prevailing in South Africa during the 1980s which Marxist analysts like Saul and Gelp [1981], described as the '*remaking of proletariat revolution*', mass mentality rules. Rationality and informed analysis are as distant as Mars is to Earth. People pick up what they want to hear. And during that

period words like 'collaboration' and 'vigilantes' were immediate to black experiences. As such, all teachers were put in 'the same basket'.

Most teachers in this study point out that the crisis did not only tarnish their image, it also enabled them to reflect on their identity as persons:

*You come to school the next day, there are no kids to teach ... you come again the following day thinking today they will come, but again it's a wild dream. You look at the newspaper, there is a big section about how bad teachers are. You begin to think maybe the problem is with me, perhaps I should do something about myself.* [Thabiso]

Another teacher puts this in a humorous way:

*I sat down and ask myself a few questions, why is everyone against us, you know I realised I need a facelift, I have to do it the Michael Jackson 's way. You know that guy ... I like him ... he realised that his nose will stop him from reaching the skies, he changed it. So like Michael Jackson, I went for new things in life and today everyone respects me because I have a master's, that was a major facelift, isn't it my sister.* [Jabu]

For some teachers being part of a teacher development programme like SEP or ELTIC was good, but it did not enable them to create the self they desired. They point out that while they gained in terms of skills, they feel that these projects continue to undermine them as persons with specific cultural identities.

Parker explains that when he went to London on a short course sponsored by the British Council under the auspices of ELTIC he came back 'unfulfilled' as a person. The course, he says, concentrated on Shakespeare and the English context. He failed as a black person to relate to it. He points out that as a black person in South Africa he felt that the African image of self was downgraded. As a result he was a confused person. He claims that if the London course touched on some of the work of African writers his personality as a black would have been

strengthened. Because of the failure of the London course he decided to do a BA degree in African History and Literature.

Others like Eric want to break an image that teachers are average:

*I want to succeed ... I don't want to be just another kid on the block, I want to be better than average, I love challenges, I am not afraid of failure I am only afraid of failing to try, because I will never know what I can do until I try.*

For teachers who have had broken relationships they emphasise the need to '*pick up the pieces and know who you are*' [Petros]. They commented that in books they find not only solace but also an opportunity to recreate their lost identities. Comments such as '*I am now a better person since the incident*' and '*you never know what you are made of until you move out of the affair*' were common.

The above analysis shows that even in a context like South Africa where the culture of communalism relegates the self to lower ranks there is still a sense of unique identity and the desire to construct one. It is also important to note that while the self may be blurred by common and shared experiences as a social and occupational group, it nevertheless resurfaces, particularly in times of social and personal crisis.

## **Peer pressure**

In chapter five the study discussed government policy on teacher development. The result of the policy was an academic paper-chase syndrome. In 1994, during the second phase of interviewing, teachers commented less on government policy as a source of pressure for them to develop. Instead a new theme was identified, peer pressure. This theme seemed to be a sub-culture of the academic paper-chase syndrome. Fifty-five [92%] teachers commented on peer pressure. '*Competition*' for higher degrees' is as fashionable as having Madiba's [Mandela's] picture on the

*wall of every household lounge'*, says Busisiwe. In their comments, teachers gave an example of a '*certain teacher*' who has such and such a degree and how much they envied him/her:

*In my school, teachers are learning, there are quite a number of teachers who have passed their degrees, BAs' and Honours and there is one who is busy with his Master's. Colleagues are a strong push, you look around and say, why should I be left behind ... and when you go back to books you realise that you've been missing a lot.* [Gugu]

The culture and subcultures of the academic paper chase has had an adverse effect on the education of children. In 1992, informal interviews and conversation with parents and some high school students in Soweto suggested that teachers were more concerned with their degrees than with their teaching. Observations from the field notes show that teachers spend more of their time in staff rooms doing their assignments, than in honouring their periods. This was not the case with teachers from Durban.<sup>68</sup> While this is true, there is a need to put teachers' actions into perspective. In the period between 1985 and pre-1994 general elections there was no effective schooling, particularly in Soweto. Students would go to school for an hour or two. Teachers felt that it was better to put more effort into the paper chase. As Nompumelelo points out:

*When there is no school you feel guilty, you keep hoping that things might change ... you also deteriorate as a person, you get stifled because the very absence of students is not good for your*

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<sup>68</sup> It was a curious observation to see teachers from Durban honouring their periods and teaching as though the context they were in was not riddled with what many called the low intensity civil war in Kwa-Zulu Natal. These teachers were highly motivated as compared with Soweto teachers. Schooling there was virtually at a stand still. Perhaps one explanation is that teachers in Durban tend to teach in the same community they live in. A teacher would be born and bred in the area. These communal ties are stronger than in Soweto. Teachers in that area tend to teach in areas where they have little personal or neighbourhood bonds with the community. For example, a teacher will be residing in Orlando West, one of the zones in Soweto but teach in Naledi [deep end of Soweto]



*mental being ... I rather, to supplement boredom and idleness, read, and sharpen my thinking.*

Teachers said this was one way of coping with the mental stress and criticism provoked by educational crisis. At the level of presentation teachers point out that getting a degree earns them respect and admiration both within school and in their communities. Qualifications, as Esther points out, are a means to social status, they give you confidence when you are among the educated. She states that she can stand tall even in the company of lawyers because she has an honours degree. In a society where the qualification structure has been manipulated by the ruling group to oppress and stifle the development of other sectors of the population, qualifications are regarded as a means of attaining power. The tools of oppression, as Masombuka indicated:

*... must be utilised for the liberation of our people, we need to give them the taste of their own medicine.*

For a teaching force that has been subjected to criticism or lack of respect from all levels society, it is not surprising that they sought to build their power base around qualifications.

It appears that as government pressure subsides another pressure comes to fill the vacuum left. This time teachers seem to control their own learning. They have set limits and standards for themselves as an occupational group. Peer pressure is seen as a motivational factor rather than a source of tension, which was the case with the government policy. Teachers who did Standard 10, for example, felt that they were forced into studying. The top-down approach in this matter caused antagonism between these teachers and the DET. For teachers like Gugu and Matomi who took up degree courses not because they were expected to, but rather



out of personal desire or peer competition, learning was a challenge and an enjoyable experience.

### **Commitment to teaching**

To have a deeper understanding of teachers' rationales for development it is important to know the nature of their commitment to teaching. Teachers' commitment to their occupation and the satisfaction derived from it may provide answers as to why teachers pursue a certain developmental programme [leading to formal qualification, or improvement skills]. Previous studies [Cole 1985, Woods 1981, Nias 1985] on teachers' lives suggest that there is more than one form of commitment in teaching. Woods [1981] identifies three types of commitment which he refers to as vocational, professional and career continuance. The vocational type is related to teachers who see teaching as a 'service to the community'. The professional type of commitment is related to teachers who perceive themselves as subject specialists and who derive personal satisfaction from it. And the career continuance type refers to those teachers who took teaching as a springboard to other careers.

In this study teachers' perceptions of commitment to their occupation were mapped against the kind of development they had chosen. Two questions yielded insight into this theme: Why did you choose to be a teacher? What is your dream? Through teachers' responses the study was able to identify three types of commitment: the 'comradely' [teachers who see teaching as a political occupation and choose it in order to contribute to the struggle for liberation]; the noble [who took teaching because it is a profession that is respected not for its middle-class status but for its noble character] and the professional [as in Woods' study, these

teachers took teaching for the love of certain subjects and wanted to specialise in them].

In each category not all teachers took teaching out of choice. They were either forced to do so by parents or by financial circumstances at home, or by limited career choices available to blacks in South Africa. Nevertheless, they have developed a love for it. These comments from three teachers illustrate a general picture of the choice of career:

*Personally I did not want to be a teacher, it's this family history which I was caught in ... my father comes from a family of teachers, his parents were teachers, so all of us ended up as teachers my brothers and sisters. It was a non-negotiable matter.*

[Spinkie]

*When I completed my Standard 10, things were very hard at home, my father passed away and I had to find work to support my younger brothers and sisters ... So there was a teaching post at Margot. I applied and was accepted.*

[Mbuyisi]

*I took up teaching because the route was not clear for me. I wanted to be a social worker. I knew a long time ago that I would help other people with their problems but I was not correctly guided.*

[Granny]

Twenty-two teachers [37%] constitute the 'comrades' – fourteen male and eight female. This group views teaching in a broader sense. Like teachers in Woods [1981] and Nias'[1985] studies, they see teaching as a service and concerned with community development. In South Africa though these teachers attach political significance to education in the struggle for democracy in South Africa. These teachers, nonetheless, do not want to accept teaching in its conservative narrow lenses, they want to change it. They encouraged a critical attitude among students. An analysis of Ngcwabaza's biography illustrates the relationship between the type of commitment and the pattern of professional development chosen.

Ngcwabaza comes from a family of seven. He is the eldest and takes care of his younger sisters and brothers. His parents were not educated and they have been affected by the forced removals under apartheid laws. Ngcwabaza has been involved in political activities since the age of 16. When he completed his Standard 10 he went for teacher training. He said that he chose teaching because it was the only profession where he could pursue the struggle for democracy:

*People don't realise what a teacher is capable of doing. You either poison the child or save him. Once you close the door of your classroom no one knows what you do with these young minds. When I went for training I knew exactly what my agenda was all about. It was to liberate through education.*

At college Ngcwabaza was involved in the Student Representative Council [SRC] and was never liked by the teachers, who thought that he was a trouble maker. On completion he took his first teaching post at Lamontville High School. When the trouble broke during the rent boycott in the area, he was one of the teachers arrested for political activism. He spent six months in prison. On his release he joined NEUSA and participated in NECC structures. Through these organisations he got involved in the writing of People's Education curriculum. With other teachers in these forums they wrote the history of South Africa from the black perspective:

*My professional development began when I joined NEUSA, NECC and EPU forums. I began to teach differently. I would use the same DET textbook, but I made the students aware of the irrelevance of this material to our experiences. Then we would have a political discussion. After all education is politics.*

At the time of the study Ngcwabaza was involved in establishing a teachers' union in KwaZulu Natal. He was working in SADTU offices during school holidays preparing for its launch. He was also completing

his Master's degree in education. His dissertation looked at teacher professionalism and its relationship to union activities.

The second biography is that of Spinkie. Spinkie comes from a family of six. She grew up in the family of very busy parents. Because of her father's occupation as a priest and a teacher they moved from one place to the other. As a result she moved from one school to another. She did not like teaching, her aim was to go to university and be an academic. Unfortunately, as she points out, her future was already decided by the history of the family. Her parents, grandparents [from both side of the family], sisters and brothers are teachers. She admits that she now loves teaching and that she often wonders what will make her leave teaching. She describes the most enjoyable aspect of teaching:

*I enjoy teaching, especially feedback from students, I enjoy their ideas especially when it come to essay writing, I enjoy reading essays and finding out what students say and think*

This pedagogy takes her into the area of SRC where she helps students with their problems and encourages a democratic culture within an institutional setting. She strongly feels that education should empower both the student and the teacher. This empowerment must be established through negotiation, respect of other people's point of view and, above all, tolerance. Outside the school Spinkie is involved in the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU]. She mediates in disputes. She is the chairperson of the Equal Opportunity Council. Because of all these activities she is engaged in an honours degree in Labour and Gender Studies at Wits. Her other professional development activities include attending seminars and workshops on gender, teacher empowerment and community development. She feels that she does not need skills improvement courses.:

*My experience of 21 years has given me a good deal of the know-how I need to concentrate on changing teaching and the education system as a whole.*

The second type is a '*noble*' *commitment*. Fifteen [25%] teachers were identified, twelve women and three men. Most of these came from primary schools. They have been teaching for more than 10 years. The majority of them took teaching because they had pleasant experiences when they were pupils. They point out that they chose teaching because it is a respected profession. Some talk proudly of their former teachers, they like the manner in which these teachers presented themselves. For example, Zanele models herself on her father's image who was a teacher:

*My dad motivated me to take teaching, although I was young when he passed away, but I envied him a lot and I wanted to be like him. I kept the documents of him, the pictures he took with his students ... I envied his suits and his olden days haircut, the one with the line on the side, like the one Mandela used to have when he was a lawyer [laughing] In my father's breast pocket there were quite a number of pens, and it made you look at him and say I want to be like you. And the most interesting thing is that I look like him more than my mother. So I associate myself with my father and the things he stood for.*

Most of these teachers did not see anything wrong with teaching except, like any other teacher, they stated that the lack of resources hindered their work. In terms of teaching styles and their view of knowledge they were more content with the old ways of presenting knowledge. As Tshepo's style indicates:

*I love teaching because I like to be with people, I like to be listened to, like you listening to me [referring to the author], I like to be in the forefront, I like acting ... Those are the things which all teachers ought to have. Really in my class I am an actor, I will shout, I will jump, you know, that type of thing*

Tshepo's wishes reveal his views about teaching and the dissemination of knowledge:



*So I have this wish that all children could view life positively. My dream is to see all children, not in South Africa only, but all over the world, respecting and valuing the knowledge that is being imparted to them. They must view it as benefiting them.*

Another interesting element in this group is that they were uneasy about teachers' unions. They see SADTU as being destructive and further damaging the education of children. As Refilwe explains:

*Truly speaking I do not like SADTU strategies. I mean I am a grown up. I know what I want in life, and I know how to get it. SADTU strategies are that if we can't get what we want now, we must stop teaching, tools down ... What about the black child? These children have been given to me to teach. So if we preoccupy ourselves with strikes, we are doing harm to the education. These children don't know anything. We are the ones who want this money, especially me as a widow who is the sole breadwinner.*

Again these teachers look back nostalgically to what teaching was all about. They wish that things should return to normal where authority could be respected. They feel that the lines have been blurred: children have lost total respect for the teachers and on the other hand the teachers have to defy all structures of authority like the HODs:

*They tell us that we are the government structure. They forget that even in the family you have mothers and children and when the mother is not around the eldest child like my son, Sipho, sees to the smooth running of the house. Like in any organisation there are supervisors, managers and foremen.*

[Richard]

It is clear that the 'noble' teachers want to keep the hierarchical structure of education. Any changes are regarded with scepticism and dismissed as the SADTU agenda.

Their perception of professional development is classroom-focused, especially in terms of teaching methods. They believe that if a teacher is equipped in more than one method of teaching, he/she is fully-qualified. Interestingly, this view did not match the professional development they

have taken. These teachers admitted to the fact that their professional development courses with Vista, TUP and UNISA have less relevance to what they are doing in the classrooms. There is a conflict between their commitment to the child and the nature of professional development. Their noble commitment is not matched by the nature of teacher development, since this development does not benefit the very child they so want to protect from SADTU influences. Most of them majored in Biblical Studies. They point out that this is the only course suited for their needs as teachers since they conduct morning assemblies. These require a teacher to have a sound knowledge of the Bible. They feel that this course enables them to provide proper moral guidance to children. Part of this teaching is that teachers and authority ought to be respected and children should not challenge this authority. It is also important to point out that the nature of commitment and its relationship to professional development for these teachers can in part be attributed to the notion of a child in African families. Children are supposed to respect adults. The social distance between adults and children is enforced in many ways. As a child you cannot tell your parents that they are wrong; it is taken as a sign of disrespect and will bring 'bad luck' to the child. It is believed that the ancestors' spirits will punish the child who stands up to his/her parents. It is therefore not surprising that the notion of teaching and the type of commitment for these teachers are not remote from everyday cultural practices found in the family structure of African communities. As such their development is geared towards the maintenance of a hierarchical structure of society and obedience within it.

The final category is '*professional commitment*'. These teachers, twenty three, [38%] see themselves as subject specialists and derive

personal satisfaction from the subject they are teaching. Most of these teachers are young graduates who have gone through a process of subject specialisation during initial training. Most of these teachers took teaching because they were good at the subject they are teaching and they wanted to contribute to the community by doing what they are 'best' at:

*When I was a young girl I had an aunt who liked to speak English all the time. I used to catch all the phrases. After 1976 my parents took us to Natal to school there as there were no riots there ... After few months in that school all teachers commented on how good my spoken and written English was. Some would ask me to teach on their behalf. When they were lazy they would say call Thulile she will cover for us. I used to organise school debates and encourage other children to write poems in English.*  
[Thulile]

Others took teaching and specialised in a subject not so much on the basis of being best at it but on the basis that their former teachers either at high school or college did a 'disservice to the subject':

*In this secondary school we had these four teachers, they were teaching agriculture, science and geography. They were music teachers as well. They were known as best teachers in the region of Pinetown ... I tell you the school produced distinctions, masses of them. The deliverance of these subjects did not give us life skills, did not prepare us for the world beyond. They actually composed a song out of text. For example, one song I still remember up to this day was this one [singing] 'the more the texture the greater is a water capacity'. There were many of these lines. When they are teaching the whole school vibrates. I think other teachers were irritated by this, I know for sure. Even the lower classes knew these songs, even our neighbouring primary schools But let me tell something it was just theory, no practice, no context. I only remember the song but not the real thing which I can refer to as life.*

Because of personal satisfaction derived from their area of specialisation, some teachers like Gugu make personal contributions to buy charts and felt pens. These contributions often go unnoticed. The very

students they are trying to help destroy the teaching aids provided by teachers:

*In a situation where you want to excel in your subject, where you want to produce the As and the Bs, you buy material from your own pocket. What is most hurting is that after making such a sacrifice, then the student you are trying to uplift comes with the knife stabs the charts, steals the equipment, etc. You know, it feels like someone has directly stabbed you and that pain changes the whole scenario, it takes away the pleasure of teaching science.*

'Professionally' committed teachers relate their development to the subject they teach. While pursuing degrees in these subjects, like economics and mathematics a majority of them are active participants of non-degree courses. They are actively involved in SEP, ELTIC and other NGOs teacher projects. They see these projects as greatly enriching, in that they provide material which otherwise they would not have been provided by the department of education. These projects are as one teacher puts it, 'a blood line of our subjects'. Teachers collect material from other sources as well, like newspapers and magazines.

In some cases the path of professional development taken by these teachers is a source of irritation for some of their school colleagues. They, as one teacher puts it, '*litter the staffroom with all this science junk*'. Another teacher points out that he finds science teachers very insensitive. They, he argues, collect all this equipment while they know very well that there is no room for it. They should realise that they are '*teachers, not scientists*'. Indeed, during school visits, the author observed that the science equipment provided by SEP was badly maintained. It was shoved into one of the collapsing filing cabinets. The same cabinet was used by other teachers for their books. When they search for their books the equipment will fall down and the usual comment will be, '*Oh! its Miss*

*Sibisi's toys*'. There was no collective responsibility for this equipment. The author observed that there was also some jealousy. Normally teachers who are engaged in the NGO project get visited by the support team of these projects. And some teachers were irritated by these visitors. There would be comments such as, *'Oh! look at her, she walks tall today because her white people are here!'* These comments were frequently made by female teachers. In a culture where all blacks are supposed to be *'hewers of wood and drawers of water'* and where blacks are supposed to worship whites, it becomes difficult for others to accept one of their colleagues transgressing this culture. Decolonising the mind, as Ngugi [1986] rightly suggests, is one of the hardest miles to liberation. For colonised minds, it is abnormal not only to have a frequent white visitor, but also to converse with and relate to him or her as an equal.

Another source of tension is insecurity among non-specialising teachers. They feel that they are being phased out by the department of education in favour of new graduates who have specialised in one area. They also argue that these teachers know nothing about teaching, they are *'narrow, they can hardly express themselves'*:

*I am sorry to say this, they are dull. When you speak to them in English they answer you in Zulu, not because they want to ridicule you, they just cannot budge, it's difficult.*

All the teachers who were anti-specialisation attribute this to new training methods:

*Nowadays when they come for teaching practice, they have come to observe. They sit there the whole day doing the assignments or reading a novel, and according to the regulations you are not supposed to ask them anything. When we did out teaching practice, we had to prepare lessons we going to give. We learn to discover things on our own. We did our best in our teaching practice, we came out ready ... These new ones can hardly write on the board.*



In sum, this analysis provides insights into the nature of commitment and its dialectical relationship to subsequent professional development. It shows that the choice to enter teaching and to remain a teacher is influenced by the teachers' perception of teaching as a profession. Such a perception stems from factors such as schooling experiences [both negative and positive] childhood influences, role models, family and cultural backgrounds. These perceptions, then, are punctuated in terms of both commitment and professional development. Thus, teachers' choice of how and what they should develop in their profession is also embedded in their commitment to teaching and beliefs about teaching.

## **Conclusion**

From this analysis it is clear that what motivates teachers to develop cannot be attributed to one single factor. Rationales presented here are evidence of this statement. Both past and contemporary experiences at socio-political, educational, professional and personal levels, appear to provide both the root and the drive for professional development. However, there are dilemmas, paradoxes, and antagonisms as teachers engage in professional development. These paradoxes, and tensions are brought about by the context in which teaching takes place. Hargreaves [1992] notes that teaching takes place within the context of opportunity and constraint. The context in which black South African teachers operate, at both personal and professional levels, is characterised by extreme constraints and few opportunities. As a result, there are tensions between self-improvement and classroom pedagogy, and between the nature of development and the general socio-political context of black

schooling. This tension centres around the discord between teacher development and the education of children.

It has been shown that some teachers attempt to respond to these conflicts in various ways. In the case of Eric, understanding the making of a South African soldier is for him not only an aspect of professional development, it is also a response to the prevailing context of state violence. For these teachers [particularly the Durban teachers], teacher development provides a political sanctuary in violence-ridden areas.

Also important in this analysis are the shifts in rationales during specific historical moments. In 1992 teachers' rationales were linked to the economic situation. In 1994 the personal domain dominated and by 1995 they were associated with the new era. Teacher development, thus, cannot be divorced from social events taking place outside the classroom, the two are intertwined and interact with other factors which are personal, cultural and institutional.

Finally, from reflecting on teachers' stories, it emerged that the choice to teach and the commitment to the job derived from a variety of sources. It is through these sources that a view of what teaching is, is constructed. When this is interpreted in practice, it shapes a particular form of commitment. This correlates with the particular professional developmental programme chosen.

Having presented teachers' reasons for undertaking a professional development programme, it is now possible to look at their experiences and their responses to these. These will provide an insight into the discourse of teacher development in a South African context. This will address these areas: what is the relationship between initial training and professional development? what is the relationship between knowledge

and issues of empowerment? who benefits from teacher development?  
how did teachers cope with the demands of study? It will also include an  
examination of other professional and personal matters.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Teachers' Experiences and Perceptions**

*If a teacher is enriched in subject matter, skills and tools to operate in the townships; then that teacher is empowered and have a reason to teach.* [Granny Mabaso, a teacher from Soweto]

## **Introduction**

This chapter reports on the experiences and perceptions of teachers. Teachers' accounts show that their experiences and perceptions of professional development differ. Such diversity is based on the nature of the specific upgrading scheme. These experiences are then discussed under three themes which represent each programme: [1] age and development [for the Standard 10 qualification scheme], [2] 'new facade, old foundation' [for degree courses] and [3] 'mixed blessing' [knowledge and skill development]. Other themes which delineate these experiences are '*cui bono*' and unionism as professional development.

Also presented here are teachers' accounts of the dilemma of studying part-time while having other responsibilities, e.g. family, community work and occupational demands. The coping strategies they have employed are discussed.

### **'Wisdom is the by-product of age and experience'**

Education is, in part, a socio-political system which is at the centre of society's competing ideological forces and professional development practice [Zeichner 1993]. Policies reflect the tension generated by these forces. Chapter two discussed in detail the ideological tension between the government and NGO upgrading schemes. It noted also another source of tension: the failure of DET to distinguish between the education of teachers and that of high school children. This was the case with teachers who were expected to do Standard 10. Teachers resented this form of



upgrading which they felt put them in the same category as the children they taught. Studies [Oja 1989, Sikes 1985] conducted in advanced industrial countries indicate that teacher development has for a long time been divorced from theories of adult development. Such an oversight results in a misdiagnosis of the needs and the nature of support that should be offered to teachers. Evidence from this study attests to this argument. Half the teachers involved in this study have had to do Standard 10. Their experiences and perceptions pinpointed the DET's failure to conceptualise the relationship between adult development and the in-service needs of teachers. The most frequently invoked experience of these teachers is that they were belittled by the idea of having to study for a school qualification which their own children were engaged in. The age factor appeared to haunt many teachers. They felt that they were too old for this form of qualification.

There are different ways in which teachers perceive old age or adulthood. Old age or maturity is associated with experience, community activities and a specific life-cycle event like childbirth or marriage. Idah's notion of age is associated with her church work and it is this link which made her think she was too old to study:

*What I can say is that, personally I felt out of place as I attended my first Standard 10 class. I was just too old for that class. Mind you, I was 35. I think what made me feel old and regarded myself as such. It is because I was **Umfundisikazi** [female priest]. In the mission everybody called me mama, even the ones who are older than me called me like that. So I just assumed that I am everybody's mum.*

For Lindi:

*I felt old on two counts. First, I was a newly -wed and I was staying with my in-laws, so I was a real makoti. [newly wed woman] And on another count, I was motswetsi [woman who has just given birth].*

Sylvia, on the other hand, was not bothered by age when she wanted to do her Standard 10, but was alerted to the issue by her colleagues. This, as Sylvia notes, had a sinister motive:

*When I learnt of SACHED and the teacher programme, I told my principal that I wanted to register. You know she said to me, 'Oh! dear Sylvia, you think you are clever, you want to make yourself better now, you are not going to make it, after all look at your age, you are very old'. I know why she said that, she was just jealous. She thought I would get my Standard 10 before her ... even before I registered for the course I asked Myra and Clive if they think I can make it ... I told them that my principal says I am old. They laughed and say you are very young Sylvia ... I think they wanted me to feel better about myself.*

Another resentment was that the Standard 10 scheme has undermined their authority both at school and home:

*Suddenly you had to share textbooks with your son and you sometimes get stuck. You are scared to ask him, what will he think of you. If you can't understand Macbeth, and he does, he looks down upon you. Tomorrow, I tell you, he will never take any orders from you.* [Joan]

Some high school teachers pointed out that they experienced disciplinary problems. These problems could not be attributed to the 'toyitoyi'<sup>69</sup> [resistance] culture only, but a teacher's account of taking Standard 10 qualification should be considered as well. As Edith describes her experience:

*It was one Tuesday afternoon, I was in my class marking the test I've given the Standard 10 class that day. The school was empty I think it was the secretary and myself left. Just after four about ten students came to the school, they started breaking the windows, vandalising the whole area. I tried to stop them. One of them turned to me and holding me by the collar with his teeth clutched together, said, "Leave us alone and concentrate on your Standard 10 certificate, otherwise we shall pass our Standard 10 before you do. You should not be telling us how to conduct*

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<sup>69</sup>Toyitoyi is a dance which black South Africans perform when they are in political rallies, political demonstration. It symbolises resistance.

*ourselves. This is how the people took over Russia, don't you know.' And others burst with laughter.*

This experience traumatised Edith and she had to ask for an immediate transfer. She pointed out that she was not only distressed by the incident, she also could not understand how students got hold of this 'confidential' information about her qualifications. She could no longer trust other teachers. She suspected that a staff member who wanted to be seen as a 'comrade'<sup>70</sup> was responsible for exposing her. Most teachers, like Edith, felt that DET should have instituted another form of upgrading for them. They suggested that the department should have given them merit certificates based on experience and years of loyal service.

Teachers' anxiety over the nature of professional development programmes and their age are located within the cultural norms and beliefs of the African community. Prominent in this culture is that adulthood and old age represent wisdom and unquestionable authority. To retain this authority there are clear and distinct roles and activities for adults and children. This belief is punctuated in formal education. Twelve years of schooling, that is, grade 0 to Standard 10, is seen as children's territory.

Eddie's biography illuminates this:

*My Grandfather was a person who liked reading a lot, he used to read the Bible from cover to cover ... but this used to annoy Grandma, who wanted to talk to him about life in general. I still remember one day, Granddad had a new book and was so engrossed in it. Grandma asked me to go to the nearby school and tell the teachers that they have a potential 83 year old student. They must come and get him.*

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<sup>70</sup>In the 1980s, to be called a comrade or be regarded as one was a sign of heroism, and for teachers it meant that they were not 'stooges or government puppets'. They were thus respected and protected by youths who called themselves comrades or Charterist [that, is those who embrace the ANC Freedom Charter drawn in 1955].

Much of this thinking stems from the oral tradition through which education took place. It is believed that adults acquire their wisdom through life experience rather than by means of written material. Within this tradition education of adults is viewed in terms of experiences they have encountered in life.

In such a context, where a simple activity like reading is associated with children and schooling, it is not difficult to spot the cultural dilemma with which teachers were faced. They were adults who were regarded as having life skills that come out of experience. It is these skills which they were expected to use or enhance in their teaching, not 'the back to school march'. It is clear that demands put on teachers to obtain Standard 10 were interfering with specific cultural beliefs and practices. Teachers' perceptions of their profession arise not just from the demands and constraints of the immediate context, they also take on board values, habits and practices inherent in the African culture.

There was evidence too that teachers resented having to mix with other adults or youths at the adult learning centres. The standard practice was that teachers had to register with these centres.<sup>71</sup> Many teachers noted that DET did not provide adequate provision and facilities for teachers to study for standard 10. This created tension as teachers felt that their profession was unique. They did not want to mix with children<sup>72</sup> or other adults who were doing the same course. It was common to hear them say:

*I think our position is unique from others.*

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<sup>71</sup> These centres are Damelin, Rapid Results, SACHED, Funda, to mention a few. Their courses are run on a distance learning model.

<sup>72</sup> During the revolt of the 1980s, many schools were not operating as the army was actively harassing students and teachers. As a result many students took up part-time studies with correspondence and distant learning colleges. Teachers' position was thus further complicated.

*People point fingers and gossip about you in these adult centres.*

*I hate the idea of a night school, it is as though you work in the mines, you are trying to learn ABC behind the boss's back.*

An example of this paranoia is reflected in an incident at SACHED where teachers who were in its Standard 10 programme petitioned for the sacking of one of the tutors. This tutor 'smuggled' into his tutorial about ten youths who were desperate for extra tuition in biology, as the army was occupying their school. Two issues are revealed in this incident. One is having to sit in the same class as youths which was unacceptable for the reasons stated earlier. The other is the sensitivity of the topic which deals with women's reproduction. The latter issue, like sex, is a taboo in African communities. The issues are never discussed, especially in front of the children. The tutor concerned describes the incident:

*The crisis started when were dealing with one section on the reproductive system ... I think it was on ovulation. As I introduced the topic I could sense some unease and discomfort, I thought it's because I am a man and the tutorial was predominately female, and not just ordinary female, old 'magogos' [grannies] The magogos were not keen to get engaged in a discussion and insisted that I should give them notes. The youth on the other hand, suggested that we should break into small groups and exchange ideas there, rather than with the whole class. The magogos told the youths to shut up, and that they are not willing to share adult ideas with them ... and that is when they walked out and told me that I was undermining them.*

This apprehension can be explained by examining the image of a black teacher within the African community. Up until 1976, black South Africans had an image of a teacher that predated 1954, when Bantu education was introduced. Teachers then were regarded as both community leaders and educators. As discussed in chapter three, they were highly respected because of this dual role. Even when the quality of the African teaching corps was deteriorating because of government policy



on teacher education, this image persisted. And, despite the tarnished image of teachers, brought about by the education crisis, the remnants of this image are still to be found in KwaZulu -Natal, rural areas and semi-urban townships. For example, for Lauretta, who is 28, untainted image of a teacher is still readily recalled. This is expressed in her dream 'I wish we could go back to the old times when teachers were respected and loved by everybody'. Teachers were 'loved' and 'respected' because they were also viewed as people who knew almost everything. 'We were', as Magubane acknowledges, 'perceived as having conquered all educational hurdles'. The teaching profession as Nozi notes, *'could not be compared with anything'*. And Florence states

*Once you qualify as a teacher people in the township think you have all the degrees in the world.*

The idea of a teacher as a 'jack of all trades' was also promoted by the teacher-training curriculum. Teachers who trained for PTC did not specialise in any subject, they were trained in all subjects, from maths to music, to gardening. They, as Granny notes, *'did half of everything'*. And, at school level, the principal did not ask a teacher what subject he/she wanted to teach. They were given any subject and were expected to teach it regardless. As long as they had mastered how to plan and deliver a lesson it was expected of them to teach anything and anyone. Therefore, many teachers have identified themselves with missionary-era teachers. They also stated that through their experience and services they have produced doctors, lawyers, priests and the upcoming young politicians like Ramaphosa, president of the Constitutional Assembly.

As for social status, teaching [other than nursing] was the only profession that could provide social mobility for blacks. The path to other prestigious occupations was systematically blocked by various apartheid

structures. It was not possible for the majority of blacks to take other middle class professions like law and medicine. Teaching and nursing were the ceiling for many blacks. Despite the appalling working conditions teaching assumed a respectable middle-class status. Its nobleness, rather than its material base, guaranteed one a place among the black elite.

### **'New facade, old foundation'**

The tension between age, a teacher's status and professional development was less pronounced in programmes which were run by universities such as Vista, UNISA, RAU, and DWU. The status of university education in South Africa might have had an influence on teachers' perceptions. In these institutions they either mixed with their colleges or with students and other adults and they appear not to have had reservations. In such cases teachers felt that they were doing something different from the Standard 10 qualification which was humiliating for them. Nonetheless, there were other tensions which were associated with social relations, pedagogical approaches, and the misfit between institutional or contextual realities and the nature of professional development scheme. Teachers who were upgrading with Vista university said that they had experienced racial prejudice. Dorothy's comment reveals the pedagogy of the Afrikaner staff:

*It was not like SACHED where you were allowed to have your opinion. At Vista we kept quiet because if you speak your mind they will fail you. And truly they failed all the articulate teachers in 1990.*

This is confirmed by Laza:

*In 1982, when Vista started, we were the first group of teachers to upgrade. We were the guinea pigs, we did not even pay for the course; we were many, it was a two-year course. But at the end of the year many teachers failed. I was fortunate I was among the ten who passed out of a class of more than two hundred ... and I*

*think they were deliberately failed to rubber -stamp that black teachers are stupid.*

Other teachers state that at Vista they are not valued as people who have a lot of experience in teaching. The adult education component is rarely addressed:

*A subject like education is relevant to any teacher, we can talk about it and make suggestions because we come into contact with these children on a daily basis. But the lecturer is just not interested ... not interested is not the word, actually he doesn't care. He just tells you to open this book and master the pages he thinks are good for you. Now this person has never been to your class, he doesn't even ask your opinion.* [Zanele]

Despite these experiences many teachers prefer Vista to other universities. This is indeed a paradox. Even teachers who were with UNISA changed to Vista. Most teachers said that they need pressure in order to finish their degrees or diplomas. Comments from these four teachers are representative of the teachers' rationales of studying with Vista.

It is quicker to get a degree or diploma:

*I started my degree with UNISA, it was a bit slow there, then I changed to Vista. I can give you an example. Let's say you do Education III with UNISA. There will be four papers. There is no way you can pass four papers in one year, you'll always fail two. Then the following year you attempt the other two, you will be fortunate do get all of them. You spend more than three years trying to get one course whereas at Vista you just sit for one exam once and for all.* [Stella]

It is more like a school setting:

*I would have liked to register with UNISA, but I am not a disciplined person. It's hard studying through correspondence. I need pressure. At Vista we write a lot of tests, attend lectures everyday.* [Parker]

It is a springboard to better universities:

*With our sorts of qualifications we cannot even get a place at Natal University, but if you have some 'smolanyana papier'*

*[small paper] they might consider taking you as you know they are very fussy there.* [Duduzile]

It is cheaper than UNISA

*I am a single parent, 'ngibamba abantwana ngamazinyo'*<sup>73</sup>  
*{literal translation} [I hold my children with my teeth], I really cannot afford to go to Tony Factors,<sup>74</sup> it better with Vista because it is here in Soweto.* [Mpho]

Teachers' rationales reflect the ideology of the education system in South Africa. First, Vista's approach to professional development is similar to both initial teacher training and the schooling system. Teachers' experiences are not different from their school and college days where they were treated as, using Freire's phrase, empty vessels to be filled. Vista staff, like teacher training colleges, are predominately Afrikaner who have been put there to entrench Afrikaner power. Second, its pedagogical approach to learning and teaching is steeped in the philosophy of Fundamental Pedagogics which has been discussed in preceding chapters. Frequent assessment and classes conducted in a school like-setting, are elements of this philosophy. Third, teacher development like all aspects of black education is under-resourced and under funded. The responsibility is shifted from the central government to the individual teacher who must find ways of paying for these courses.

### **'Mixed blessings'**

This theme articulates the experiences of teachers in non-governmental projects. All sixty teachers, as stated in chapter one, were involved in these projects [ELTIC, SEP and TUP]. Teachers' views and experiences were mixed. They were both critical and appreciative of these programmes. These diverse experiences represent a fundamental

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<sup>73</sup>This is an idiomatic expression meaning, 'I struggled to bring up children'.

<sup>74</sup>Tony Factors is UNISA's study centre in Johannesburg city centre.

contestation over the issues of control, power and knowledge, taking place in South Africa.

First, the most widely appreciated benefits of the NGO development programme were *opportunities to meet other teachers, to share ideas and experiences*. Prevalent comments were: 'I was exposed to other teachers'. 'You are able to think and work with other teachers from Alexander, Gazankulu and so on'. 'We all mix and we happen to share a lot of ideas and experiences about teaching in general'. 'I gained a lot from peer teaching'. 'There are teachers who are very positive and they influence me a lot'.

Second, teachers credited courses, seminars and workshops which supplemented their meagre *teaching resources*. SEP teachers were supplied with science kits. These kits were sold to the schools at cost price. Comments on the advantages of kits are 'I was able to convert a classroom into a laboratory class. I was able to demonstrate and do practical work in science teaching'. 'The kits were useful because they were meant for overcrowded classrooms'. 'Science kits are a godsend, even if the kids have no books, but the experiment is performed'. Other teachers, while appreciating these kits, admitted to some scepticism:

*You ask yourself many questions about these things, why are black schools given these kits, why they are not used by white schools, why they are known to be cheap, and why is it that the schools must pay for them, you wonder, don't you. It's all the idea of white people to give us little. They say we are used to cheap things anyway. We sleep in bed from Ellerines.<sup>75</sup> Now how can the quality of teaching improve if we operate on the cheap?*

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<sup>75</sup>Ellerines is a furniture shop that sells cheap goods and is very popular in the rural areas of South Africa.



ELTIC teachers were able to use the project resource centre, which lent them material on English language teaching. Some information was generated in workshops and in seminars conducted by the project. Most teachers point out that the project has inculcated reading habits in them. They say that the lack of libraries in the township has left them in the dark and they now realise that they have missed a lot on general reading rather than on English literature, per se. Others are still having doubts about ELTIC material because it is aimed at a specific purpose; that is, for second language speakers:

*Sometimes, I feel frustrated in workshops, They treat us as second language speakers. Why? Why can't we do English as a first language, it's all do with the perception of the white man about us: that we could not perform well if it's a first language. The standards are low, and I want to be a first language teacher, but my dreams are sometimes defeated and I don't think I am the teacher I want to be.* [Lauretta]

For TUP teachers the material was in the form of workbooks which were designed for teachers' own use for the Standard 10 course. Almost all teachers spoke of the value of this material. They reported that the material had many uses. Esther's explanation captures mutual experiences:

*These workbooks were so well written and easy to follow. They helped me to understand that tutorials are different from teaching, they made me realise that there are more ways of learning and teaching. They have helped me a lot with my approach to learning at Vista. At school I organised group work on the model of the workbook.*

Third, seminars and workshops have had a *reskilling effect* on teachers' work. Often stated in their comments is: 'I was able to present a lesson in different teaching techniques that are interesting to the pupils', 'I can interpret the syllabus', 'I can apply science in real life situation'. Others

used acquired skills for transformation rather than amelioration purposes, as in the case of Eric:

*Being in possession of new teaching methods means that when I teach literature or any aspect of the language, text is not the only thing to deal with. I also teach broader issues on, for example, who makes decisions may be in a story and relate that to our situation in South Africa. I encourage critical questioning. If something is written and prescribed it does not necessarily mean it's perfect. Unless we develop a critical attitude we will accept things that are not worth it.*

The fourth is a two -fold *motivation factor*. One applies to teachers and the other to students. The nature of support offered by the projects has been a source of inspiration. As Gugu puts it, 'it has encouraged me as a teacher teaching under the present demanding but demotivating situations'. What emerged from teachers stories is that the courses gave them the confidence to handle the subject matter. Commonly stated is that, 'I was very scared of getting to class before I joined SEP but now I am sure of what I want to teach'. Such confidence appears to reinforce motivation. Those teachers who had an opportunity of attending professional development courses abroad stated the motivational element of these courses:

*When we were in England we visited schools, talked to teachers and we saw that they are dedicated to their work. I also looked at the English teachers teaching their own English-speaking children. I realise that if the English people are teaching their own students as if they are not first language speakers, it means I must work hard as a black teacher from the ghettos. [Cherly]*

Another fountain of confidence and motivation is mere exposure to other cultural settings and the social status associated with this. As this teacher describes her experiences and its effects on her:

*An exposure to other cultures was an important experience for me as a black teacher. Having to live with people who come from the Islamic world, India, Europe, makes you feel that you*

*are an important person as well. They are interested in your culture.*

The experience of visiting the Northern Hemisphere is taken as a hallmark of achievement by both the black and white communities. This belief arises from dominant assumptions which view the Western world as 'paradise': no poverty, no human rights abuses, no discrimination on the basis of race, a land of opportunity. The paradise status, as indicated in earlier chapters, has been promoted by the desire of the white communities to distance themselves from the continent [Africa] and its black population - to emphasise inequality on the basis of cultural difference. This has been kept alive through educational material, notably history textbooks, the importing of consumer goods and the electronic media. For a group whose movement within the country has been monitored and curtailed through various laws, indeed it is both an achievement and victory to have a chance of boarding British Airways. As a consequence, blacks who have studied abroad, even for a short period like three months, are held in high esteem. They become a symbol of hope and mentors for the upcoming generation. Teachers endorse this view:

*Since I came my principal respects me and the students call me 'professor' ... but most important when I go out with friend, when they introduce me to other people they say this is Gugu from London..... I do not know if I deserve this glory. [Gugu]*

At classroom level, teachers comment that because they bring alternative material to class, students are also motivated to learn. Students ask more questions in class and request extra classes and assignments. They regard this material as better than the prescribed textbooks which are associated with white domination. Indeed, Macdonald [1978] observed that during the riots in Soweto SEP material was left intact while other DET material was destroyed by students.

Closely allied to the above factor is the fifth theme, the *reflective outcome*. This was frequently mentioned by ELTIC teachers. Their motivation as well as that of students has given them 'the pressure to reflect' on what they are doing. Derrick commented that he now conducts needs- analyses before teaching. He bases his lesson on these rather than on the syllabus. He points out that he is more aware of the taken-for-granted issues in teaching. For Maleka reflective teaching has had these outcomes:

*I do self-assessment on what I do, and I have enhanced creativity, confidence, originality and inventiveness in my lessons. This makes it easier for me as a teacher to begin to transform knowledge.*

Sixth is *overseas courses* which many SEP and ELTIC teachers were sent on. As in other areas of development there are mixed experiences. Some teachers report that they benefited from these courses, while others point to unpleasant experiences. Science teachers commented that these courses exposed them to highly sophisticated laboratory equipment. They enjoyed experimenting and having an opportunity to use it. However, it was difficult to implement what they had learnt as their schools in South Africa did not have such equipment. Notwithstanding, these misgivings, teachers credited the value of the assessment project. This project was based on home situations. This, they say, was the only aspect of the course they were able to take back and implement when the circumstances permitted:

*You just hold on to the little project you have done as a show piece of having attended a science course at Leeds University, other than that you go back as a bitter person because it is only then that you realise that the kits are child's' play, when you become aware of the educational bankruptcy of the science education in black school.* [Sibisi]

The same sentiments were expressed by ELTIC teachers.



*The same things we did here in South Africa during our seminars were the same things we did at Ealing College. We were still subjected to communicative skills, how to teach reading skills and stuff like that. You wonder: what's the point of coming all the way to be hammered with the same messages.*

[Derrick]

Some teachers hardly used the material they collected abroad, as in the case of Eszra:

*That material is somewhere in my garage. We developed that material on the basis of a Danish model of education,... now the Danish people do not know anything about the army taking over teaching, they have never known the struggles we went through here 'Emzansi' [South]. Theirs is a free democratic society. Now I don't want to be chased by school children. Bantu education is oppressive and foreign enough. Why should I add more foreign things?*

One of the reasons why teachers felt they benefited little from courses was that the duration of training was too short to learn anything significant. Twenty-one [35%] teachers in this study went on three-month courses while a small proportion [that is, six: 10%] were in six-or nine-months' training. Most comments are characterised by the difficulty of adjusting to a foreign country, particularly in the middle of winter [January to March]. The British weather can be a depressing factor at the time when one's mind is required to focus on a course. As Nhlahla explains:

*Before we left the British Council briefed us on the British way of life and its unwelcoming weather, but I tell you nothing prepares you like the experience. So the first month you are having a cultural shock, the excitement has evaporated, the second month you begin to smile and there are TV programmes you feel you don't want to miss, like Coronation Street and Brookside. Don't ask me about the course, '**kungena ngapha, kuphuma mgapha**' [Things come in this ear and get out through another ear]. I think it was the third month when we were expected to think about home, that I came round to understand what we were doing.*



There is also evidence which suggests that overseas students in foreign countries tend to benefit more from mere exposure than from what they learn on a course. The tracer study conducted by the ODA [1992] on South African students sponsored by the organisation found that more than half the respondents said the experience of being in Britain was more educative than the qualification. A personal communication with one of the authors of the report clarified this point:

*In this one school there were two teachers who were on the same course in London, but we didn't have this information. We went to interview only one teacher, who did not alert us to one of her colleagues. However, when we completed the interview, the forgotten teacher came to say farewell to us and said 'please give my love to Kings Cross'. That's when we realised that she went to London as well. It was funny and we had a laugh about it. But we also wanted to call the study 'give my love to Kings Cross', but a colleague dissuaded us. The phrase represented many stories we gathered for the report.*

[Clive 1993]

Through this exposure other teachers pointed out that they were able to appreciate who they are and the values of their culture. Comments such as, 'I am more of an Africanist now'. 'You never discover the beautiful things about your culture until you meet other cultures'. These experiences have not only affirmed their identities, they also alerted them to the problems of the world, such as poverty. As Petros explains:

*When you are surrounded by the SADF everyday and Inkatha killings you think you are the only people who have these problems... its only when I went to Leeds that I realised that people in Leeds also go hungry, racism is alive and kicking and that the Chinese can kill their own people ... that's the World for you.*

Also emerging from teachers' stories is that they had problems on returning to South Africa. As mentioned already, one of these was the implementation issue brought about by the lack of resources. Other explanations are closely linked to the nature of the schooling system and

the tensions inherent in it. First, when a teacher goes abroad, no replacement teacher is brought in to cover for him/her. This has had negative effects. The students are neglected for the duration of the visit. On their return, teachers have to work hard to 'catch up'. The problem becomes magnified by a system of education that puts value on examinations and frequent assessment. In this situation the teacher has to finish the prescribed syllabus in time for the student to make the necessary revision for exams. Hence, there is neither the time nor the space to put into practice new ideas from Leeds, Canterbury or Ealing:

*I had to cover four months' work before I could think of trying the material I acquired from England. Students in most cases are not interested in things that won't help them to pass exams. Especially at high school they know exactly what they are supposed to cover in six months, so you have sleepless nights trying to figure out how can I work a miracle.* [Nomaswazi]

Second, the relationship with other teachers at a school level can be strained. In some cases, the students whose teachers went abroad were given to other teachers. In a context of a 60:1 teacher pupil ratio, it becomes an extra load for these teachers. This can cause real tensions among teachers:

*I looked at the exercise books of my students, you know, to get an idea of what they were doing while I was away. To my surprise I found that their work was never marked. When I asked the teachers, they said that they did not have the time. Now you tell me, really, what kind of teachers are they, not marking students' books for four months?* [Thabiso]

In some cases the tension is between the principal and the teacher. Joan's story is an example of this. Joan went to London for three months. On her return she was subjected to an inquiry. She went without the principal's permission. It transpired from Joan's account that her relationship with the principal was not healthy anyway and this has been

going on for years. When she applied for study leave, the principal deliberately withheld her application form and failed to submit it to the Department of Education for approval. The war of attrition ensued for months before her departure and on her return. She was given a 'forced transfer'. She did not take the transfer. Instead she resigned and joined a NGO project called Speak. In the third phase of the interview, Joan was back at her old school, Belle. With the launching of SADTU, she took up her case and was successfully reinstated.

A similar case is that of Mrs Mrajane, a teacher from JC Merkin in Soweto, who was sacked for going abroad without the approval of the department. As in Joan's case Mrs Mrajane and the principal are long time rivals. This case was so serious that it affected nearby schools with teachers supporting Mrs Mrajane and boycotting classes.

### *Cui bono?*

This theme focuses on the relevance of the nature of professional development for black teachers. Snapshots of this theme have been appearing in previous chapters. From teachers' accounts four notions of relevance have been identified. One is the view that *teacher professional development should be based on the subject a teacher is offering at school*. In this case the teacher should have a deeper knowledge of the subject. This advocates specialisation in teacher development. Teachers claim that this will benefit both the student and the teacher. Many teachers claim that the courses they are doing with Vista and UNISA in particular, are irrelevant to what they teach [see Appendix 7A: Courses chosen by teachers studying with Vista University]:

*I will tell you something about qualifications and degrees in this country. We are an educational Mickey Mouse, if you get what I mean. If you can do research on teacher qualification since the*

*whole notion of improvement came into being, about 80% of teachers have done degrees that are not relevant to teaching. This is a trend throughout the country. For me this is a waste of time and energy.* [Nontuthu]

Spinkie explains the effect of this on education, generally:

*Our maths and science teachers have majored in subject that is normally done by police; criminology, you can imagine. I wouldn't call this development at all, it is murder. This is reflected in the results of our students. If you take Standard 10 results of the past five years, they are very poor. Teachers did not improve the state of their teaching, but they've excelled on their categories.*

Science subject teachers expressed frustration if they upgraded in these subjects:

*I am a geographer , at least, I did attempt to do geography in my honours degree with UNISA, but I had to drop it as we were expected to move to Pretoria for three months to do practicals. I could not because I had a baby and I was breast feeding. But on the other hand I asked myself, 'where am I going to teach that geography, because the subject is dying in Soweto'.*

*This is a science subject, we need a lab, without it we cannot go ahead. Like a simple thing campus we do not have it... Like this morning when I was teaching them about directions and bearings, I felt I was betraying them, I had no material for that, I was just illustrating with a piece of paper. The results is that students hate the subject, they are really battling.*

*Teachers who have masters on the subject are frustrated, subject advisers are also frustrated.* [Granny]

Granny offers some suggestions on the problem:

*Unless we have a teachers' centre where there is a geography lab, and then, teachers could borrow material, or take students there for experiments, maybe the subject can be revived.*

Primary teachers are also unhappy with their degree or diploma courses. They point out that the courses are meant for high school teachers:

*Basically we do high school work which has little benefit to our pupils. The department has forgotten about us. It's such a lonely*

*activity studying something that is not related to your classroom needs. Teacher upgrading in future should concentrate on lower classes. Maybe we can have better results like white schools. [*

*Jessie]*

The effects of this are felt by high school teachers. They commented that pupils who come from primary schools are not ready for high school work. They expect teachers to write on boards the whole time. They, as one teacher notes, 'think that teaching is about the blackboard and memorisation'. Most teachers suggest that more work on development should begin at primary schools: This teacher explains his reasons:

*I think the spadework must begin in lower classes. I am saying this because when you look around at the primary schools, I am not trying to criticise teachers who work there, you find old magogos and they are tied. They did T3, T4 and PTC and they have stayed there. There is no challenge for them, no competition. And further than that they are still stuck with the old teaching methods of rote learning and memorisation.*

*[Magubane]*

Notwithstanding this comment, some primary school teachers have found ways of 'breathing life' as one teacher puts it, into their teaching. Lindi, for example, has established an exchange programme between her school and a white school in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. Teachers meet fortnightly to share ideas and conduct collegiate teaching. In other schools like Zakheni, teachers take personal initiative, making contact with white schools. Others like Mantoa upgrade in remedial education at Wits University. She points out that she has established a good relationship with both white and black teachers who are on the course. They visit one another's classrooms to assist when there is a problem. Those who have not made such breakthroughs report that they



gain fresh ideas from the exercise books of their children who attend in Model C<sup>76</sup> and other private schools:

*If there was a law which says that if you copy other teachers' ideas you will be arrested, I think I would be in prison now. I copy so much from what my kids are doing in white schools. I monitor their homework with a motive, to steal an idea. I then try it with my class. Also during teacher-parents meeting I ask a lot of questions, I go around the school to copy as much as possible.*  
[Busisiwe]

Another source of ideas for primary school teachers is the electronic media. They credit the American programme called Sesame Street. Most say that the programme is suited to their needs. But other teachers say they benefit from their colleagues within the school. In Idah's school teachers meet every Monday to look at what they have achieved the previous week. They tackle problems and exchange ideas.

The second notion of relevance is related to *teaching techniques or methods*. Teachers admit that the teaching and learning process is a dynamic. As such, it requires a teacher to be flexible in his/ her teaching techniques:

*The didactic situation is dynamic, it's not static. You can plan a lesson, but the manner in which you deliver it is completely different. So you need to be in possession of as many approaches which you can rely on when others are not producing what you want.*  
[Ntombi]

High school teachers, in particular, believe that the calibre of the students they are having has put into question the methods they were

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<sup>76</sup>Model C schools are formerly white government schools which have been admitting black students since 1992 because of the falling numbers in white enrolment. The government contribution towards these schools is through teacher salaries. The administrative and other costs are partly parents' responsibilities. The fees range between R 2000 [£400] and R600 [£170] per annum. It is the black middle class that afford to send their children to these schools. This has not altered with the new dispensation

trained in at college. These students are both critical and informed due to the influence of the media and the political context of South Africa. As a result, students want discussion and group work. Therefore, a teacher has to employ a teaching technique that will facilitate and enhance this:

*I think any teacher who is at the high school is faced with a situation where students take an initiative all the time. At the college and even in these upgrading courses we still operate on the 'norm' that lessons are teacher -driven. A challenge for us high school teachers is to be equipped with methods that will meet students needs.* [Laza]

SEP and ELTIC teachers comment that they value the teaching skills they have learnt from these projects. Highly rated are communication skills. Teachers made comments such as:

*It helps me to be open about myself .*

*The relationship I have with students is much better than before.*

*I am more approachable and I enjoy it when a student discuss issues with me.*

*Learning has become a two-way stream, I learn from them, they learn from me.*

Third, in ideas about the importance of relevance, it is argued professional development should be based on the *lived cultures of both the teacher and student*. It should not be divorced from the socio-economic and political contexts within which teaching and leaning takes place. A detailed analysis of this has been discussed in preceding chapters. This section will highlight the areas that were of import to teachers. First, political violence and crime have affected teachers. Some of this violence takes place within schools where students are in possession of guns. There are many cases of violence directed at both students and teachers. According to the Drum [1991] magazine, a black oriented publication,

teaching had become one of the most dangerous professions in South African townships. This teacher describes the context in which they operate and the way in which they try to deal with the issue of violence:

*In our school we had in 1987 a combination of 'politicians' and 'thugs'. The 'politicians' were not a threat to us, they were concerned with political issues. But the thugs were a big danger because they used politics to achieve their goals. We came together as teachers and made a deal to stop this harassment otherwise there will be shooting in the classrooms like at Gugulami. We term our operation 'clean the table'. We bought whips and kept them in the staff room. We knew exactly the students we wanted to clean up. We will purposely provoke the thugs, then we whip them. They left the school and never came back.*

In this context, skill-based and knowledge-based forms of professional development have little relevance to a teacher who is caught in the violence. Teachers felt that they needed a programme to deal specifically with the issue of violence.

Second, *parental involvement* has been the subject of media debate in South Africa since 1990. Presently there are ten Soweto School Learning Clubs initiated by parents and funded by the Anglo American and De Beer's Corporations. These clubs are for parents whose children attend primary schools. Teachers feel that all parents should be involved in these schemes. More importantly, no aspect of teacher development deals with this issue in detail. Teachers as a group need skills and education on teacher-parent partnerships. Most teachers acknowledge that this is a new phenomenon in black education. As such they need training as well. Schools have been seen not as an extension but rather as the main institution of learning. This has been exacerbated by lack of libraries, study or recreation centres. Teachers are also expected to supervise homework and monitor the reading habits of their students. Parental involvement was quoted as a one of the major ingredients of school and educational

improvement. The home-school partnership will enable teachers to deal with sensitive issues they encounter, like child abuse, suicidal matters and poverty. The conception of teacher development that encourages a teacher-parent-student relationship seems to arise from teachers' own experiences. They are actively involved as parents in the education of their children. Their association with schools as involved parents has alerted them to the importance of this area in their own institutions. The value of this form of professional development is explained by Joan after discovering that unbecoming behaviour by one of her students was a result of family background:

*This student started harassing teachers. And some teachers had to pay him some money called protection fee. I decided to investigate this boy, his family background. So one Sunday I forfeited all my appointments and went to see his parents. I made it a point that I arrived very early so that I can learn what kind of a family was it... the boy was so shocked to see me. I told the parents that they should talk to the boy, that there are things that we are not happy about as teachers; but I didn't reveal anything to them. I said the boy will be the best person to tell them. On Wednesday, this boy came to me and started crying like a little baby. Then he told me his story. He said he has turned a thug because he has no future. He has discovered some months ago that his father is his uncle.*

Joan had to counsel the boy. But she said that she had to involve both parents. She admitted that she would have not been able to handle the case if she was not skilled in this area. The NGO she works for on part-time basis has a close working relationship with parents. That is where she acquired the skills.

Third, is the view that professional development should attend to the *political changes taking place in South Africa*. These changes have a direct effect on education. Areas of concern for teachers were curriculum reconstruction, school management, multi-cultural education careers

education and the legalisation of SRC structures in schools. Degree courses, as one teacher states, give you more knowledge about the subject but do not tell you how this knowledge was assembled. Curriculum construction has been an exclusive domain of the DNE. As noted earlier teachers were given syllabus and textbooks to implement. The new government has called for the overhaul of this system as the essence of participatory education. Teachers are encouraged through their union SADTU to contribute to this process. But many teachers feel that they have no skills to allow them to do that. Teachers express dissatisfaction with NGO programmes which, they say, 'bombarded them with skills' and fail to give them what Johnson [1989] calls 'real useful knowledge':

*It's beginning to dawn on me that these programmes did not involve us in the material designing process. The R & D section of SEP is full of whites and maybe a one black face and he is not a teacher. If you ask me where are all these white people today, they are advising the black government, they used us to prepare themselves for these positions.* [Laza]

On career guidance, teachers feel that the new dispensation offers some hope for their students who will have a chance to choose careers that were previously closed to blacks. High school teachers in particular point to the necessity of training teachers in career guidance:

*When you teach you are expected to do the subject matter as well as career guidance. But most of us are inclined to subject matter. At the moment I don't think the teachers are happy with the subject they teach except maths and science teachers. These teachers do see the foresight of the subject. We need to have all teachers undergoing training in career guidance of the subject they are teaching. They must know what careers are there for the child, we need to know the future of the subject. The child must see the subject as one that will give him/her life. If the subject is alive then we are going to have life. If the teacher is enriched in both subject matter and the life skills of it, then that teacher is armed, empowered and has a reason to teach that subject.* [Granny]



The legalisation of SRCs and the role of SADTU in school governance has ushered in a new way in which schools are managed. As one teacher pointed out, black schools will be run in management styles that require leadership, negotiation and mediation skills. All stake-holders [that is, teachers, students, parents, the community at large] will have a 'voice' in curricular and administrative matters. Basically the authoritarian and top-down forms of management will be replaced by participatory democracy. Teachers talk of the need to be trained in these skills. As indicated earlier, teaching in a South African black township is a multi-role profession and requires teachers to have sound leadership skills. Spinkie explains the significance of this training:

*As teachers we need to be on Madiba's [Mandela's] boat. He has taught us how to live with our enemies. In many schools, teachers and principals are not getting along as staff; there is division of all sorts, ethnic, gender and so on. We are used to principals who say, 'this is my school and no one can tell anything'. Now, we have to be in line with what is happening in the country, we can't allow this to continue. So all teachers need to be trained in democracy and how it should operate in schools. Otherwise black education will continue to be a football ground of every Tom, Dick and Harry.*

Out of the sample, only two [3%] teachers talk of a programme which will train teachers on how to teach in a multi-cultural/ multi-racial setting. These teachers comment that such a programme will help to bring all teachers together, black and white:

*I think we all need development in this area. We know little about the Indians, Coloureds, Afrikaners, Jews. They also have a stereotype view of us. So the education of teachers should help to bridge this misunderstanding, because we teach the future generation. We want to prepare them for living in what Bishop Tutu has termed, the 'Rainbow Nation'. [Ngcwabaza]*

The comments of the other teachers challenge the view that black teachers are deficient. He thinks that the major aspect of multi-cultural education should target white teachers :

*White teachers need training and a lot of it in how to handle big classes, how to teach children who come to school without shoes, or any food. They think that all children come from homes where there is a swimming pool and two dogs. Most of them teach black children in these Model C schools. When a child does not have a pencil they are surprised. They wouldn't be if they understood the background of their black pupils. White teachers were also subjected to authoritarian rules; it's now that they talk about it. Black teachers are not that bad, actually they are the stronger ones.* [Eric]

### **The role of the teachers' unions**

This theme looks at the role of teachers' associations or unions in promoting or hindering the process of professional development. This is an area overlooked by researchers. This is so because professional development is viewed in terms of knowledge and skills training. Teachers' unions do not run courses that can be measured in credit units or be evaluated by examination. Anything outside this paradigm is not conceptualised as professional development. One other reason is probably the traditional role of teachers' unions. They focus on political issues that have a bearing on the teaching profession, procedures to improve the working conditions, governing councils, collective bargaining and participation in local, regional and national political parties. These activities are rarely regarded as teacher development. In South Africa, where teachers' unions are highly politicised and affiliated to specific political parties, the developmental aspect is completely overshadowed. Through teachers' stories, the study found that teachers' unions are an arena of teacher development. Through their activities, they either hinder, promote or recreate professional development.

First, teachers' unions are a source of information on professional development courses. Through their meetings or periodical journals they publish this information. It is one of the effective ways of reaching all members. Teachers were asked to indicate a source of information on courses: forty three [71.7%] teachers said that they were informed by their unions.<sup>77</sup> This was communicated to them in meetings and through the monthly journal. Teachers were encouraged to attend these courses. In some cases like SACHED, ATASA negotiated tuition fees for teachers. In this way the union promoted teacher development. However, the main complaint from teachers was that unions like ATASA and NATU never questioned the nature of the project: they just accepted that it was good for teachers. Teachers felt that their conservative approach reproduced notions of development that failed to challenge the status quo:

*Anything, gimmick or useful, was accepted. I think they thought that half a loaf is better than nothing. I also think that they wanted to show teachers that they are doing something. But it was the child's education that was at stake.* [Baby]

Second, unions provide the kind of education which no other agency could. Such education is subtle, transmitted through the activities of the union; political lobbying, negotiating, mediating, collective bargaining. The knowledge gained is more to do with understanding the social and political system. This can be acquired when a teacher is part of the union's activity. Of the sample, fifteen [25%] teachers were in the leadership structure of SADTU. They admitted that SADTU activities have become a major part of their professional activities. They point out that they attend conferences of an academic, social and political nature. Indeed they talk of the valuable experiences they have gained. 'I have a

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<sup>77</sup> The unions referred to were ATASA, TUATA, NATU and NEUSA. ATASA, NEUSA & TUATA disbanded in 1992 and their members have joined SADTU.

broader outlook in life'; 'I have realised that there are more things to do in the political field. When you talk to the politicians you realise that they are living in their world and you have to try and keep them interested in your topic and your concerns'.

Other teachers who were just members of the union talk of the role of SADTU in changing perceptions on professional development:

*SADTU empowers teachers by helping them to understand that we have a right to decide on our education. It encourages us to be critical. As we move to the new South Africa we need teachers who will be at the forefront of education. In this way teachers will stop doing courses that boost their income, they will think of the country in general. When a teacher is critical he won't just accept the orders that say when you don't have this qualification you will be dismissed.* [Lydia]

It appears that the teachers' union accord teachers the political and social skills they require to deal with bureaucratic structures. No teacher education programme had that intent. This has not been part of the curriculum of either pre-service or in-service education. Teachers learn these political skills by participating in their unions. This forum enables teachers to scrutinise the political motives, the purposes and intentions of the Ministry of Education and to respond to these with appropriate measures.

### **'Too many irons in the fire'**

This theme looks at how professional development has impacted on teachers' personal [family and social] and professional [school work] lives. The data presented in relation to the previous theme suggest that the demands of professional development have added an extra load for teachers. In countries like Britain and the USA it is claimed that the increased responsibilities for teachers has had a 'burnout' effect. 'Burnout' as Freedman [1988:134] implies, means that at some point a finite amount

of energy has been consumed. Over the past few years the issue of teacher burnout has been investigated and different interpretations of its meaning in a school context have been described. In Britain in particular it has been found that the restructuring of the curriculum has created extra work for the teachers. Because of this teachers have to do more administrative tasks other than teaching. Freedman, however, gives a different notion of 'burnout'. She argues that the term 'teacher burnout' should be seen not as overtaxing one's intellectual and mental capacities but, rather, as a result of teachers' anger and frustration at not being able to use these abilities to handle difficult emotional and managerial problems. The professional lives of the teachers interviewed show that in South Africa, 'teachers burnout' means the overtaxing of intellectual and mental capacities, lack of resources, overloaded syllabus, confrontations with the army and the teacher student ratio of 60:1. Throughout teachers' accounts a recurring theme is that within the institutional and broader social context they are expected to be a 'jacks of all trades'. Again, unlike in the Western context, teachers 'burnout' in South Africa goes beyond institutional concerns, it also takes other strands. These strands emanate from the communal culture of 'ubuntu botho'. In a cultural context where the educated constitute a minority, members of society expect them to play multiple roles.

These multiple roles of teachers make it difficult for them to engage in development programmes without having to forfeit other obligations. When the interviewer posed the question, how do you adjust your life as a teacher and a parent, to be able to upgrade yourself? The first response was, 'Oh, it's very difficult'. Apart from a few teachers, ten in total, it appears that professional development has had to compete with other



demands like family responsibilities and teaching. The effects of this, they admit, have been felt in all areas of their lives.

To understand teachers' family responsibilities we have to be clear on what constitutes a family in African communities. First, the notion of a nuclear family [mother, father and two children] as it applies in western communities is an alien concept for Africans. As mentioned in previous chapters, most teachers live with relatives, [cousin, aunt, uncle, grandma, in-laws.]. This has financial implications. Teachers are breadwinners, and paying for a course or for transport to attend a seminar at the city centre where most of these NGO projects are based, can be a problem. Apart from financial support, extended families have many cultural ceremonies, funerals and birthdays. In violence- torn areas like Kwa-Zulu Natal where killings [according to the University of Natal monitoring group] are estimated at 30 per day, many teachers in this region said that their families were affected. As one teacher explains:

*We do not know a weekend without a funeral in my family. Since the civil war, we've been burying either members of my own family or my husband's family. My family is at Inhlalakahle, in Greytown, you know, there is no living soul in that area now.....and my husband comes from Hammarsdale; you take a drive there, there is hardly a house with a roof, all burnt down, we have forgotten how to cry. [Nompumelelo]*

Extended families support one another when there is a funeral, birthday occasion or a cultural ceremony. This support is not only in a financial form, it is shown by one's attendance in these gatherings. A family member who fails to attend these can expect no future support from others. This was evident during fieldwork. On more than one occasion teachers would cancel an interview because they had to attend a family occasion of one form or another. It is difficult to dismiss these obligations, as one teacher puts, it, 'you know if you keep saying I don't

care, I don't care, they waste my time, you will end up throwing away your significant part of your life'.

The members of the extended family can also drop in unannounced. They do not telephone to make prior arrangements [not every household has the telephone in the township; it is a luxury, and the postal system is badly run]. This teacher describes her dilemma with unexpected extended family visitors:

*My husband and myself are sort of elders in the family... so you can imagine, they come from all over the country to visit, to complain, you name it ... also because we are educated they think that we have answers to everything ... you can't throw the towel in, you have to be there for them ... your assignments and stuff just get pushed over.* [Thulile]

For women teachers, the societal view of the role of women within a family makes it even harder to combine studies with family life. This is illustrated by the diaries of these two teachers, one female and the other male. It is not difficult to discern the triple load [mother, housewife, teacher] faced by women teachers.

Mrs Sibisi 's Diary ['makoti' teacher – newly wed, living with in-laws]:

***The morning activities - 5 am to 7.15 am***

*Rises up, sweeps the yard, cleans the kitchen and dining room, makes porridge, irons the husband's shirt and trousers, runs the bath for the husband, serves tea and porridge for the members of the family, washes used dishes, baths her six month baby, prepares herself for school*

***The after school activities - 2 pm to 5 pm***

*Marks students' exercise books, prepares tomorrow's lesson, attends tutorials at Vista, arrives home 6 pm*

***The evening activities 6 pm to 11. 30 pm***

*Prepares dinner, watches the news, washes the dishes, puts the baby to bed, cleans ailing mother- in -law and put her to bed, reads, or does an assignment, attends to the husband.*

Mbuyisi's Diary [38 year old married with five children]:

***Morning activities 6 am to 7 am***

*Wakes up at 6, polishes his shoes, has a bath, has breakfast, catches a bus to school*

*After school activities 2 pm to 6pm  
Goes to the library in Pinetown to study,*

*Evening activities 6 pm to 10 pm  
Supervises children's homework, does some gardening,  
prepares tomorrow's lessons*

Another area of tension is with partners who feel that they are neglected when a teacher prioritises professional development. This was more the case with female than with male teachers. Male teachers comment on the support they get from their partners. While female teachers state that their partners accused them of being irresponsible or not spending enough time with them. Most of these women are married to people who are not teachers and the female teachers felt that they were suffering from an inferiority complex. Educated women in African societies are still battling with stereotypical images of women [uneducated, housewife, if working she must not earn more than a man]. If they transcend this boundary they encounter a lot of problems from their partners and in some cases the matter can be so serious that it may end in divorce or separation as in the case of this teacher:

*The trouble started when I was in my first year of upgrading. I was a housewife for eight years. I expected him to support me in my career advancement. But he wanted to deprive me the pleasure I get in books....I don't know, maybe its because he's not a teacher, maybe he had a complex. You understand at times he will find me studying late in the evening he will switch off the lights and I switch them on. Then the trouble starts, so I just have to stop reading and go to bed.* [Mrs Mabaso]

Second, most teachers report that they are involved in *community development projects*, the church, civic associations and mekgodisano [self help programmes found exclusively in the black townships throughout the country]. Most teachers were active members of the

church and, as indicated in the preceding chapter, their lives are influenced and shaped by the Church. A majority of teachers belong to indigenous African churches who have adapted Christianity to the African way of life. Worship in these churches takes the form of dancing, clapping hands. They are very communal in nature and they operate like another extended family. Going to church is the whole day's business. One teacher describes the service:

*Although we are supposed to start the service at 11 o'clock, most people arrive after 12 or so. ... The service gets going about 1 pm. Everyone gets a chance to express his spiritual feelings. When the formal service is over, we begin what I would call a community service, we attend to family problems, to the sick and the like. If there is a member who is hospital in or having been through a tragedy, we all go there to give support. When you look at the time it's already five in the afternoon. [Zanele]*

Another community activity is the '*mekgodisana*'<sup>78</sup> [self-help schemes]. A study conducted on women teachers in Lebowa identified this as one of the main extra curricular activities of teachers. 'Mekgodisano' are popular and constitute a vibrant hobby of all black South Africans. They are found at the factory floor, in schools, in public organisations and street committees. A small *mokgodisano*<sup>79</sup> involves less than ten members and larger ones can have between one and five hundred members. The activities are varied. A few of these are blanket schemes : buying one another blankets for the winter on a rota basis; funeral schemes: help with the funeral expenses, like the coffin, hiring buses, catering, etc. when a member is bereaved, and augmenting members' incomes on a rota basis. *Mekgodisano* stems from the concept of ubuntu

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<sup>78</sup>In some parts of the country *mekgodisano* operate under different names but the activity is the same. These names are, *masigcwabane* [let's help to bury one another], *zimele* [stand up for yourself] and *society*. The latter is taken from the idea of a 'building society'.

<sup>79</sup>Note that *mokgodisano* is singular in this sentence.



botho and its major focus is on how to survive in a poverty -stricken urban or rural South Africa. Indeed, it was impossible to get teachers on weekends as these activities took place at such times. Teachers were engaged in more than three mekgodisano groups. Ten [17%] teachers were chairpersons of these schemes and reported that it was difficult to find enough time to study. These teachers point out that they were elected because of their profession. They were trusted and given responsibility on the basis that their education will contribute significantly to the effective and efficient running of the scheme. Some of these schemes attend to school problems. An example of this is the scheme run by Mrs Mabaso and other teachers:

*We run a project where we help needy children. We asked schools to identify these children and send them to us for clothing and the like... we organise concerts to raise funds, we are able to buy school uniforms, we also give them money for lunch. Of late we have come across extreme cases from the squatter camps where a child comes to us and says, ' I did not have supper last night, no breakfast or lunch and I am not sure if I will get any when I get home.*

Third, at an institutional level, teachers report that they do not work in an ideal situation where they can feel that they are in control. One teacher puts it this way: ' We are basically not teaching, we are just there to manage the crisis created by the former regime'. The demands of the situation make it harder to concentrate on part-time upgrading. Most teachers suggested that professional development should not be 'punctuated within the school calendar'. It is better for the teacher to go on a year's study leave. Indeed, the difficulties faced by teachers who went overseas indicated that there was a need to rethink timing. Most admit that in one way or the other they have 'stolen student time':

*If you have to submit the assignment tomorrow and you haven't been reading, you just give students some unscheduled*



*test, while they crack their heads, you write your assignment... I do feel guilty because it's very wrong. But I make up for the time by asking them to come either early one morning or stay after school. [Eddie]*

## **Coping strategies**

The paradox of the ubuntu botho culture is that while it accords little space for individualism, it nevertheless offers a *supportive structure*. Extended families as well as communal neighbourhoods might not provide intellectual support but they can relieve you of the responsibilities of child care, domestic chores and financial help should the crisis arise. Most female teachers indicated that their relatives came to help when they were busy with revision or exams. From the data it appears that it is the women teachers who utilise the extended family support structure. It is women who are faced with household responsibilities and they have to find ways of managing their time:

*I must say that my family was very supportive when I was doing my degree with UNISA. All my sisters helped one way or another with the children, They supported me financially as well. My younger sister adopted my second child for a year, until I was okay to do things by myself. [Duduzile]*

Other teachers had to leave without their children in order to make time for studies and other activities:

*When I separated from my abusive husband I was in the middle of the course at Natal University. I had three daughters. I was also on the run from the police for political activities. My mother and my brother adopted my children. They told me to continue with what I was doing they will take care of everything. Now that everything is quiet my kids are back home. [Ntombi]*

Comments from male teachers show that they did not have to rely on their extended family because they were coping relatively well. Their strategies were focused more on how to balance occupational demands

with studies. Most admit that they have enough time to study as this teacher explains:

*I think teachers have a lot of time. We knock off at 2 pm, really one can do a lot. From 2 pm until 7pm in the evening what do you do. I thought I could use this time more profitably. To prove that teachers have time which they do not know how to use, you have to look at our guys, they all have 'phuza'<sup>80</sup> faces. When the school stops at 2 pm they go to the nearest shebeen. This is the normal trend with our guys.* [Richard]

During the fieldwork, appointments with male teachers were rarely cancelled. Even after school hours they would have time to talk to the author. When the author went to interview Tshepo she found him busy typing, helping the school secretary. He admitted that he has enough time at his disposal to engage in this activity:

*Right now when you came in [referring to the author] I was busy helping the secretary with typing, because when I am alone I will be reading, I don't have to clean the house or cook, my mother and my sisters do that,... so I just read and read. My friends say that I will have a nervous breakdown.*

Other teachers utilise their *childhood background* particularly with respect to time management. They commented that the ingrained habit of waking up before dawn enables them to start the day earlier:

*With morals and discipline, my mother told us, 'In the morning make sure that you are the first one to wake up, You will hear voices speaking to you and those messages tell you how your day will be like, and believe in God.' Even now I wake up at 5 am and that is my latest. In the past I used to wake up at 3 am and pray, then start my chores.* [Granny]

Older teachers rely on their children to do some of the house chores. They point out that they have trained their children to be

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<sup>80</sup> Literally translated, 'phuza face' means, the drinking face. The expression is used to indicate that one facial features show that he/she is an alcoholic.

independent, to take responsibility when they are not at home. This teacher who has boys only states:

*I don't touch anything in the house, my boys wash, cook and iron. They keep everything in top form. I was aware that I have boys only and if I do not train them I will suffer. I told them when they were very young that housework has nothing to do with gender.*

Children in African families are given responsibility at a very early age. When they come back from school they have to do specific duties assigned to them, like cleaning the toilet or sweeping the yard or collecting younger children from a child minder. In the western context this may be regarded as one form of child labour. In African communities it is not seen in that light. Such training is taken as a preparation for life and survival skills. But more important, this training embraces the ubuntu botho culture, people help one another. Children are taught the elements of this culture through the African saying, '**ukuzala ukuzelula amathambo**' [parents' workload is halved when they have children].

On the financial side it appears that teachers engaged in various income generating activities. These activities include selling fat cakes or hot dogs to other teachers during school breaks. But the most prominent activity is the '**mokgodisano**'. In two schools both female and male teachers had this scheme and they called it, '**ijazi lami**' [my gown]. All teachers contribute R50 [£10] every month. This money is put in the bank on a fixed deposit for a period of three years. It generates interest. After three years a teacher who wants a loan for study purposes can apply to the trust. Teachers involved in this scheme credit its value. They said it has enabled them to do their degree with universities like the Durban Westville and Natal. During the third phase of interviewing the scheme

was being expanded to include the dependants of the members. As a result teachers' contributions increased to R200 [£50].

From the foregoing it is possible to suggest that the practices and beliefs inherent in the African culture both constrain and support teachers in their professional development endeavours.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter a variety of issues has emerged which suggests that teacher development has been designed according to the current social and political pressures rather than a systematic educational policy aimed at school and educational improvement. There has been little consideration of the social and cultural context within which teachers work and live. Such an oversight has generated tensions in teachers' professional and personal lives. This is clearly reflected in the Standard 10 course and in teachers' accounts' of the irrelevance of their professional development [see Appendix 7B: Courses chosen by teachers studying for Standard 10 Qualification]. It also appears that the discourse of teacher development is subject to the pull of competing ideological forces. Non-governmental projects espouse the skill-knowledge based approach. And the government-sponsored programmes view teacher development in terms of qualification-upgrading. Through teachers' experiences such approaches are in conflict with the institutional cultures and the socio-cultural and political contexts of teaching. For example, the overseas courses and science kits have not made a major impact on school and educational improvement. The intentions and purposes of these programmes are undermined by the interactions of many factors; social and educational deprivation; institutional tensions; cultural practices, an unstable political setting and the ideologies inherent in these programmes.

Because of these paradoxes teachers have found ways of creating alternative and self-directed professional development. They either use existing programmes or create new ones. Through these, they dismiss, challenge, mediate and recreate the concept of teacher professional development. Teachers' accounts' embody the view that professional development is more than skills and knowledge acquisition. In a South African context it has to attend to political, cultural, social, institutional and biographical matters. Its relevance and effectiveness, as teachers' experiences and perceptions show, will be measured in these areas. The data presented in this thesis suggests that there is a need to reconceptualise teacher professional development in South Africa. An alternative paradigm should take account of the factors presented in teachers' accounts. The next chapter, thus revisits dominant paradigms with a view of providing an alternative one based on the findings of this study.



# **Chapter Eight**

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

## **Introduction**

The foregoing chapters have indicated that there have been two dominant paradigms [that is, the social control and skill-oriented] through which teacher development programmes have operated in South Africa. This chapter revisits these theoretical perspectives on teacher development with a view of providing an alternative paradigm which can be supported by the findings of the research. It then introduces a discussion on how this paradigm could be made a central dimension of teacher development policy in a New South Africa.

### **The limitations of the dominant paradigm of teacher development**

It was noted in chapters two, three and five that teacher development programmes responded to socio-political and economic concerns. They reflected an attempt by the government and the business sector to address the triple crises, that is, the political deficit [sustained resistance against apartheid and the rise of black nationalism], economic stagnation [recession, shortages of skilled manpower, rising unemployment and industrial strikes] and educational crises [shortages of qualified teachers for secondary schools and unprecedented resistance against Bantu Education].

First, with reference to the social control paradigm, the thesis has shown a number of short comings and problems. Through the modernisation programme the government utilised teacher development as a strategy for legitimating its political agenda. It launched a nation-wide programme of academic upgrading of qualifications which was linked to material benefits rather than educational transformation. The salaries and

benefits such as housing, were systematically linked to the qualification structure. The primary motives were to create a stable urbanite black middle class. Indeed, most teachers now live in middle class black suburbs created in the 1980s. The underlying assumption was that this class would be more concerned with material things than with politics. This, it was argued, would produce conditions necessary for the promotion of an individualistic culture which would weaken collective resistance and black nationalism. Indeed, during the study, it was not difficult to detect materialist views in teachers' stories.

Teacher development conceived within the above social control-based paradigm promoted a view that academic qualifications were a means to status and social mobility. Indeed, in 1992 teachers' rationales for participating in government programmes attest to this view. The motive for teachers to study was to increase their salaries. Furthermore, teacher professionalism was defined in terms of qualification and high earnings rather than professional autonomy. This has implications in terms of initiating and participating in curriculum development and controlling the process of teaching.

The skills-oriented paradigm was reflected in approaches employed by both the government and NGOs which embraced economic concerns. Examples of the skill-oriented paradigm are located in the Alpha project and SEP which explicitly embrace a technological perspective in teacher development. These programmes have developed pre-packaged 'teacher-proof' curricula. Within this perspective a teacher is a passive instrument whose teaching is planned and dictated by worksheets and kits. It is important to point out that skills and knowledge based training is essentially on the basis of the analysis presented in chapter two. But this

training must be connected to social justice with a view to transforming teaching and enhancing a critical pedagogy. Teacher development curriculum should embrace both knowledge disciplines and theory. It must be recognised that skills do not exist discreetly, they are derived from a theory and knowledge disciplines. If teachers are taught skills which are divorced from theory and knowledge disciplines from which these skills are drawn, they can not create new skills. This will give teachers confidence and enable teachers to be creators of knowledge rather than implementers. This will enable teachers to understand that skills are socially created and have social purposes. As such the training of science teachers needs to problematise science and link it to the limitations of technology. Teachers need to have an understanding that technology does not decide how to apply itself, human beings do. Furthermore, a critical skill- and knowledge-oriented approach as Aronowitz and Giroux [1986:129] noted, is based on the acknowledgement that science and modern technologies lead to new forms of social domination.

Both social control and skill-oriented paradigms have been seen to have severe limitations for a fruitful development of teacher programmes. Furthermore, they have been seen to be in conflict with the aims of democratic transformation. Teacher development programmes which are concerned with social control and economic dispositions rather than educational transformation seem to have created more problems and tensions in South African black schools. First, these approaches took little account of the general social context within which teaching takes place. Teachers' experiences show that they operate in a context of social and educational deprivation, violence and harassment. Through their work as well as through being members of the black community, they encounter

students who have been traumatised by political violence, poverty, and abuse. Hence teachers' experiences are both institutionally and culturally informed. On the basis of these realities teachers' work is more than teaching. They have to be social workers, psychologists and counsellors. Some become foster parents, activists, community workers and leaders. These roles enable them to be broader than the classroom context, and to be connected with the pain and traumas of the community they serve.

However, teacher development projects have neither enhanced nor supported teachers in these roles. Instead most programmes took a pathological view of teachers as people who are lacking in skills, experience and knowledge. In fact teachers require both skills and critical knowledge in order to work creatively to contribute to the alleviation of oppression. At worst these programmes have sought to distance teachers from these communal roles by treating them as mere implementers of innovation and classroom managers. Most of these programmes claim they were ideologically-neutral. It is not hard to find the reason for such a claim. These programmes as indicated in previous chapters have been initiated by whites. White South Africans have sought throughout the decades of white rule to close their ears and eyes to what was happening in the townships. To the majority of white South Africans the townships were another planet. Indeed, amidst the army occupation of schools, these programmes continued to view education as if it were interest- and conflict-free. This is reflected in the programmes' curriculum which fails to take account of teachers institutional and social contexts. Essentially teachers were disempowered by a curriculum which bore little relevance to their situation. For example, most teacher development programmes did not refer to racial domination, nor to dominant white values which



permeated education. Indeed, some teachers in this study pointed out that SEP science kits, paradoxically, legitimated educational inequalities by designing kits which were 'cheap' and solely meant for black schools. Similarly teachers were encouraged through these programmes to treat as non-existent their own day-to-day experiences. They have been told that they should concern themselves with teaching techniques and 'close their ears' to the ever increasing call by the black community that Bantu Education is not reformable, and that it cannot be improved given its philosophical and ideological basis.

Indeed the failure of these programmes to take account of the institutional and contextual realities has put teachers at odds with both community and students. As Chapters six and seven show, teachers' accounts suggest that since the upgrading movement started their relationships and their images within the black community have been further damaged. Parents and students have complained that teachers are failing to honour their periods, as they are busy with their own studies. Observation notes from the research confirmed this, particularly in Soweto. In addition, teachers who take up three-month courses abroad leave students without a teacher. Furthermore, the end of the year examination at Vista and for Standard Ten qualification coincides with those of the students. Teachers confirm that they find it difficult to attend to the needs of their students during this time of the year as they are also revising for their own examination. At a community level the parents have less faith in teachers whom they believe are pursuing self-serving interests. At the institutional level the academic paper chase syndrome has created its own sub-cultures; teachers are pursuing degrees because of collegiate pressure.

These tensions, paradoxes and contradictions are located in the 'ameliorative' principle underlying most of these programmes. Essentially this principle was based on a view that Bantu Education could be improved within existing structures. On the basis of this perception teacher development programmes sought to appropriate the language of 'pragmatism', of the 'practical' and of 'practice'. They stipulated 'workable' ameliorative strategies designed to operate within apartheid institutions. In fact these strategies redirected and delayed genuine transformation by turning to the language of the 'technicist' and 'functional', and this ultimately became a hegemonic educational discourse. Therefore, it can be suggested that these programmes merely encouraged the type of improvement necessary for the continuation of existing power relations based on race, class and gender. As far as SEP is concerned, the ability to perform a few 'practical' experiments in front of the students does not alleviate racial oppression, nor reconstruct knowledge and curriculum which is based on democracy practices and moral purposes. Programmes like TUP and ELTIC which had a potential to transform education suffered the fate of failing to connect their curricular to issues of social justice and to the social movements which were working towards liberation. Skills and knowledge which were not connected to transformation are less relevant for teachers whose teaching context is characterised by political violence and deprivation of all sorts. Skills and upgrading of qualifications have to go hand in hand with democratic transformation of education and society at large. This has to be mutually supported by political and economic transformation. The education crisis in South African black schools was deeper than teacher shortages or learning and teaching techniques. The crisis was

fundamentally about the philosophical bases of knowledge, power relations, social interests and the ideology of apartheid. Therefore teacher development in this context has to attend to wider political issues since they shape and influence what goes on in the classroom.

On the basis of the above noted limitations of social control and skill oriented based paradigms there is a pressing need to provide an alternative and alternative paradigm based on the findings of this study. Such a paradigm, it is argued will take South Africa forward by addressing issues such as the transformative basis of teacher development and indeed of education in general. Furthermore, it has the potential of restoring the confidence, morale and image of teachers by connecting teacher development to issues of social justice. The importance of this model is that it can contribute to the process of transforming schooling and can facilitate a discussion about the nature of knowledge to be developed in a New South Africa.

### **The basis of an alternative paradigm for teacher development in South Africa**

The foregoing analysis indicated that teacher development programmes have been imposed from the top with teachers having little or no voice over its conception and execution. Nonetheless, teachers participated in these programmes. Their rationales, as presented in chapter six, are based on the interaction of the personal, intrinsic and extrinsic factors. These factors embraced elements of the communal and collective culture and modernity. The personal histories consist of childhood experiences, critical events in their personal lives and schooling experiences. Intrinsic factors embrace both the personal and shared professional experiences. For example shared professional experiences

consist of the general breakdown of student teacher relationships in many secondary schools during the 1980s, and teacher harassment by both students and the army which occupied schools during this period. The extrinsic factors as indicated are in a South African context closely interrelated since the professional experiences are located in the political struggles of that period. What happened at the broader socio-political level has affected the teachers. Schools in the 1980s were a battleground where political conflict was waged. These rationales suggest that teachers are not a homogeneous group as hitherto presented in the literature. Teachers' personal rationales suggest that no matter how pervasive certain aspects of their shared professional and social culture may be, their actions and views with respect to professional development are partly rooted in each teacher's own biography and view of the world. In addition, these rationales show that teachers are not merely pushed into professional development, they rather make conscious choices based on the interaction between their biographies and professional lives, and the material socio-political contexts. Chapter six shows that teachers chose to upgrade on the basis of childhood experiences, motherhood instincts [for women teachers], experiences as members of the oppressed community, and for salary purposes.

Through these choices teachers reproduce, mediate, dismiss and recreate the concept of professional development. Central to teachers' views and actions is the culture of '**ubuntu botho**' which influences teachers personal and professional lives. This was seen in chapters six and seven. Firstly, the reproduction aspect of teacher development was particularly reflected in teachers' views about qualifications. Most teachers



viewed them as essential to boosting their social status and to restoring the learning and teaching culture eroded by political contestation of the 1980s. Some SEP, TUP and ELTIC teachers saw pre-package 'teacher proof' material as a 'godsend' and not as an aspect which took away their creativity, and 'control' over their teaching. Others perceived themselves as deficient teachers. For them teacher development regardless of its content and relevance would make them 'better' teachers who could teach in white schools. These teachers looked down upon their own experiences and thus helped to perpetuate a myth that white teachers were better than themselves. Indeed, most of them had little knowledge of what was happening in the white schools, as the ethnicisation of education in South Africa has prevented an understanding of each group's practices. Therefore, these views serve to reproduce dominant assumptions that teacher development should be concerned with skills training and taken for granted knowledge.

Second, the challenge of teachers and their dismissal of many courses can be seen in teachers' absenteeism at Saturday tutorials. Saturdays for many teachers is a day when they attend to family, and communal activities like '**mekgodisano**'. These activities are part of the vibrant civic culture of the townships. They have over the years unified across the ethnic divide imposed by apartheid, and have kept families going in the face of social and economic deprivation. Thus many teachers would rather attend communal activities that make sense and are real to them than go to Wits. Indeed some teachers in this study are the chairpersons of '**mekgodisano**'. And their elections to these positions are based on the fact that they are teachers whose professional expertise can provide sound leadership. This then suggests that '**mekgodisano**' is one



aspect of teacher development which provides teachers with leadership skills. Furthermore, '**mekgodisano**' meetings and gatherings are conducted in a democratic manner, with everyone interested and concerned taken into consideration. As such they have a potential agency which can enhance democratic practices both at the institutional and communal level. Indeed, the RDP [1994:3] document acknowledges this grassroots institution as a collective heritage that the new South Africa has to build on. Thus teacher developments which fail to take note of teachers' life-styles and cultures miss the opportunity of extrapolating the positive elements of this culture. These can promote professional development which is of immediate interest to the teachers and to the community; and can connect it to the values and norms of the oppressed.

Other examples of teachers' dismissals of dominant notions of professional development are reflected in teachers' participation in social movements and their unions. These teachers view political activism as a necessary condition for the transformation of schooling, teaching and society. Political activism enables them to work with other social movements whose objectives are to liberate and democratise society. Thus they challenge a view that politics and education are mutually exclusive domains. Indeed teachers who are politically active command respect both at the institutional and community level. These teachers pointed out that they are never short of techniques nor material. And that they have deconstructed the apartheid textbooks, and turned them into consciousness-raising material. They have helped students and other teachers to develop critical skills. Their professional status and the professional knowledge they can claim has been enhanced by their involvement in social movements.

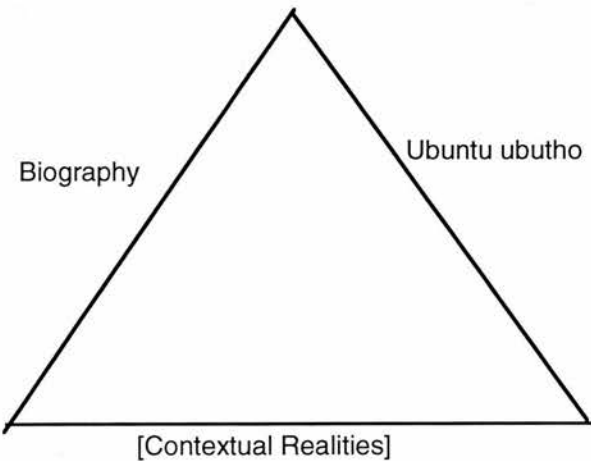
Thirdly, as teachers challenge dominant notions of teacher development, they also recreate new ones. They move from the what Aronowitz and Giroux [1986] call a '*language of critique to the language of possibility*'. For example, some primary school teachers have introduced the notion of racially integrated professional development. These teachers have established links with historically white schools. The actions of these teachers have created necessary conditions to develop a bottom-up teacher development programme which is racially inclusive. Basically these teachers have taken a step and used initiative which both government and the NGO have sought to treat as uncharted territory. Neither government nor NGO programmes have worked towards the integration of the teaching force. The discourse of teacher development has operated within the apartheid framework. Teacher development like schooling in general was a matter of ethnic group. And while NGOs have been critical of Bantu Education, they have failed to develop strategies which would promote racial integration and equality.

Thus teachers who have crossed the racial divide with a view to sharing their experiences with their white counterparts have created conditions for a form of teacher development that has the potential of unifying teachers of all races in South Africa.

Another important example of recreation is how women teachers have connected the notions of motherhood prevalent in the African culture to advance professional development geared toward nation-building, gender equity and the restoration of necessary conditions for learning and teaching in the townships. This restoration requires a political and economic support from social movements and political leadership. The notion of teacher development linked to motherhood is

not sufficient of its own, to be fully utilised for democratic practices it requires support and encouragement.

In summary the findings outlined above suggest that teacher development is more than skill and knowledge training, it embraces biographical, cultural and socio-political practices. Teachers' rationales, experiences and perceptions articulated in this study indicate that teacher development is a complex terrain where human agency interacts with structures and institutions to give meaning to everyday experiences. On this basis the study proposes an alternative paradigm which takes a view that teacher development is a complex triangular process, the philosophical and epistemological bases of which are located in the interaction between personal histories, cultural practices and the socio-political, material contexts. This alternative paradigm is illustrated in Figure 8 below and is termed the biographical and socio culturally based paradigm:



**Figure 8:** Biographical and socio-culturally-based paradigm

## **The biographical and socio-culturally based paradigm: the issue of transformation in a New South Africa**

In April 1994 South Africa entered a new phase in its history, white minority rule was replaced by a GNU led by the ANC. Since this historic event the issue of transformation has been high on the agenda of the state. Social, political and economic transformation as articulated in the RDP [1994] entails the elimination of historical inequities based on race, gender, class, sexuality and religion, the advancement of democratic practices, the recognition of the values and norms of the cultures of all groups, the articulation of experiences and voices of all and the enhancement of the collective and civic culture. To achieve this, the RDP stresses a 'people-driven process':

*Our people, with their aspiration and collective determination, are our most important resource. Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment. Democracy is not confined to periodic elections. It is rather, an active process enabling everyone to contribute transformation . [RDP 1994:5-7]*

The RDP principle of 'people-driven process' suggests [in terms of the purposes this study] that teacher development based on positivism/social control and skill oriented paradigms are inappropriate for the New South Africa since they fail to involve teachers. Essentially the New South Africa requires programmes which will take the principles of RDP forward and help to transform and democratise society. On this basis a biographically and culturally based paradigm is well placed to provide the foundation from which this process can be launched.

This paradigm has a three interrelated relevance for the purposes of RDP in relation to teacher development policy. First, it has the potential of *transforming the way in which knowledge is constructed* in South Africa.



Through it teachers and other groups can participate in the construction of the school curriculum. Their participation essentially means that they bring in their experiential knowledge, the strategies they have employed to deal with social deprivation, visions for the future and the collective culture of 'ubuntu botho'. This means that the construction of knowledge will not be an exclusive preserve of dominant groups in society. Furthermore, the values, norms and traditions of the black community can be integrated in the school curriculum. More importantly these values, as have been shown, embrace the notion of collectivity. Thus the appropriation of the philosophical bases of 'ubuntu botho' in teacher development programmes can offset the worst dimension of the technocratic and individualist culture inherent in the education discourse.

Secondly, since a biographical and culturally based paradigm takes account of the importance of the role of communal organisations and other forums which are concerned with social and economic deprivation, it has a potential of *linking teacher development to social movements*. Teacher development will cease to be viewed as concerned with teaching techniques only. Instead, teachers' roles and engagement in communal organisations and other social movements would constitute an essential component of teacher development. Teachers involved in social movements are well placed in the words of Aronowitz and Giroux [1986:37] to develop a 'critical vernacular that is attentive to problems experienced at the level of everyday life'. Such teachers can problematise knowledge, and make it meaningful and liberatory. Indeed, in this study it has been shown that teachers who are involved in social movements have turned Bantu Education pedagogy into an emancipatory discourse. Thus teacher development that is linked to the continuing liberation



struggle has epistemological implications as well. The transformation of schooling in South Africa requires more than the insertion of norms and values of the historically marginalised groups. It also calls for a critical interrogation of the norms and values for the purposes of delineating positive and negative elements. It is important to recognise that this paradigm does not advocate romantic regurgitation of the past, rather it seeks to work on the experiences of teachers with a view of critically interrogating them and exposing new knowledge forms emanating from this process. Democratic transformation of education can only take place if all forms of knowledge are problematised and critically analysed. As such the teachers can continually reflect on their values and norms with a view of reworking and interrogating them.

Thirdly, the biographical and cultural-based paradigm has a potential of *restoring the tarnished image of a black teacher*. This can be achieved by restoring teachers' confidence about themselves and the work they are doing. Confidence stems from acknowledgement of teachers' experiences and perceptions. When teachers feel that their work is taken seriously and their voices sponsored, they become confident in what they are doing. These experiences must not only be acknowledged but be utilised to build a democratically oriented pedagogy aimed at promoting active citizenry.

Confidence emanates also from participating in the construction of the programme for professional development. Teachers who are creators rather than implementers will not rely rigidly on the textbook or the worksheet to guide them. This is so because the material is not alien to them, and they are not strangers to it. As such teachers will be authorities and authors of their subject and this has an empowering effect as well as

strengthening professional self-confidence. This will require that teacher educators be of highest quality.

Teachers' self-image can also be restored if teacher development is linked to the daily experiences of both teachers and students. Teachers have more incentive to participate in a professional development programme when it has relevance to their situation. The knowledge they will be imparting will be meaningful and immediate to their experiences. Indeed, it has been shown in this study that teachers who relate professional development to contextual realities are respected by their students and community.

### **Policy suggestions for teacher development in a New South Africa**

From this discussion it is possible to suggest ways in which a biographical and socio-culturally based paradigm can be integrated into teacher development policy with a view to contributing to the transformation process currently taking place in South Africa. First, SADTU as a democratic teacher organisation forum has to be given an active role in teacher development. SADTU's potential in developing a participatory and transformative and critical-oriented programmes is based on its philosophical underpinnings which treat education as value-laden. On the basis of SADTU membership which is non-racial, teacher development programmes developed by SADTU would help to unify all teachers and allow them to share common experiences. A united teachers' force with common goals, aspirations and vision will in turn enhance the process of building a democratic society. There is no better place for teachers to meet and share their experiences than in a teacher development programme. This will break down mental and physical barriers and both black and white teachers can learn from each other.

Secondly, teacher development programmes have to be school-based, with teachers coming together to develop a programme that is relevant to their needs and situations. This means that the current practice which concentrates on science, maths and English teachers would have to be reversed. Teachers of all subjects have to feel that their subjects are also important and contributing to the development of the nation. This will promote a collective culture within the school setting. Teacher development of this nature will not remove teachers from their students and will aim at improving the general well being of both teachers and students.

Finally, teachers' multiple roles should be recognised and be supported. Teacher development should build on these experiences. Their commitment to teaching will be enhanced by recognising the multiple roles they play in society. The disposition both to grow professionally and to contribute to the growth of others needs to be encouraged and supported through appropriate institutional structures and collegiate cultures. Furthermore, teachers must be encouraged to work with social movements and community organisations. When teachers work with the community, tensions created by the 1980s political struggle could be eased. This collaboration action will foster an understanding within the community that teacher development is not self-serving but a necessity for democratic practises. Teacher professional development which endorsed expertise within the teaching profession would give teachers a morale boost and greater confidence in what they are doing. This is important as many teachers feel a sense of personal fulfilment when they are doing more than teaching.

## **Concluding Comments:**

This thesis has argued that both social control and skill-based paradigms have little potential for transforming teacher development and education in general. It has proposed a biographical and socio-culturally based teacher development paradigm. The greatest strengths of this paradigm lies in its recognition of the importance of human agency, i.e. that people's experiences and perceptions are central to an understanding of the complexity of life. But more important is that by providing space and credibility to self-creation, mediation and resistance, people can actually be put in charge of their lives and thus helped to shift the balance of power in society. And this provides necessary conditions for making teacher development and schooling important arenas where emancipatory practice can take place. A biographical and socio-culturally based teacher development embraces participatory, transformative, and emancipatory elements which can liberate a teacher, who in turn can reciprocate these practices in the classroom context. For a New South Africa to achieve its goals and miraculous dream made on the 27th April 1994 it has to uphold human agency as its guiding principle. The transformation of education and society can happen if teachers are given voice, autonomy and opportunities for creativity. Then, as Granny [teacher from Soweto] pointed out those teachers will be empowered and have a reason to teach.

Despite all the necessary measures to ensure representation, because of time constraints as well as the scope of this study, I cannot claim that this research and its finding is representative of all South African teachers' experiences and perceptions. For example, there is a need to investigate the perceptions of teachers in rural areas who have not gone through

formal training. They are 'invisible' to the public eye and may be under the complete sway of a farmer who acts as a principal with no educational expertise himself. It is my contention that such data will either confirm the variables reported here or necessitate additions and thereby enhance the alternative theoretical model advocated in this study. There is a need also to investigate the experiences of teachers who have been employed by homeland educational authorities. Furthermore, a comparative study of black and white teachers will provide a richer understanding of the phenomenon of teacher development. The application of biographical method in the areas identified, will yield insights to the complexities of teacher education, teaching, and teacher development in the South African context.



## **Bibliography**

## **A: A list of data collected**

### **1. Fieldnotes kept:**

2 July - December 1992

5 May - 20 May 1994

3 December - 12 January 1995

5 May - 23 May 1995

### **2. Audio tapes of interviews:**

*Phase 1: 1992*

#### **Britain:**

March	5: Interview with Dr Peter de Vries, Edinburgh
April	10: Discussion with Clive Harrison, Sheffield
	16: Discussion with Dr Peter de Vries, Edinburgh
June	18: Discussion with Dr Peter de Vries, Edinburgh
	28: Interview with Clive Harrison, Harwich

#### **Johannesburg:**

July	9: Telephone discussion with Paul Musket
	Telephone discussion with Dr Dwight Trigaard
	13: Discussion with Dr Dwight Trigaard
	Discussion with Dr Chisholm
	14: Interview with Gladys, SEP staff
	15: Discussion with Dr Dwight Trigaard
	17: Discussion with Harry Mashabela
	20: Discussion with Paul Musket
	21: Interview with Paul Musket
	22: Interview with Monica Mnguni

- 23: Interview with Cherly Peterson
- 24: Discussion with Thandi Ngegebula
- 28: Interview with Peter Soothey
  - Discussion with Dr Jonathan Jansen
- 29: Interview with Curtis Nkondo
- 30: Interview with Sophie Segwai
  - Interview with Sarah Mkuchane
  - Interview with Dorothy Thoane
- August 3: Interview with Thembi Ndlalane
  - Interview with Violet Mabotsa
- 5: Discussion with Dr Dwight Trigaard
- 6: Interview with Thandi Ngegebula
  - Interview with Mohan Mahandra
- 7: Interview with Chipane Kgaphola
- 10: Interview with Dr Jane Hofmeyer
- 11: Interview with Dr Jonathan Jansen
- 13: Interview with Busisiwe Mbekwa
- 14: Interview with Cecilia Mekhoe
- 15: Interview with Eddie Nkomo
- 18: Interview with Edith Mphahlele
  - Discussion with Dr Ken Hartshorne
- 19: Interview with Esther Mokonoto
  - Interview with Jeff Kegorilwe
- 21: Interview with Zanele Zondi
  - Interview with Sylvia Mthenjane

- 22: Interview with Montoa Molifi  
Interview with Jessie Sikhosana
- 24: Discussion with Dr Jane Hofmeyer  
Interview with Florence Maponyane
- 25: Interview with Idah Malapi  
Second interview with Montoa Molifi
- 26: Interview with Joan Mofokeng
- 28: Interview with Jeanette Mottaletsa  
Interview with Lydia Mahlangu  
Discussion with Thandi Ngegebula
- 30: Interview with Refilwe Monegi  
Interview with Thulile Sithole

**Durban:**

- September 4: Discussion with Merveyn Orgle  
Discussion with Nomaswazi Hlubi
- 7: Discussion with Magnum Ntombela  
Discussion with Thembi Ndlalane
- 8: Interview with Harry Mashabela  
Interview with Simphiwe Ntombela
- 9: Interview with Duduzile Cele
- 10: Discussion with Jeremy Routledge  
Interview with Magnum Ntombela
- 11: Discussion with Mr. Ndabezitha  
Interview with Nomaswazi Shongwe
- 13: Interview with Thulani Phewa
- 14: Discussion with Magubane

- 16: Interview with Jabu Mzaliya  
Interview with Baby Mkhabela
- 18: Interview with Nompumelelo Yeni
- 21: Interview with Stella Khumalo
- 23: Interview with Nhlahla Zondi  
Interview with Ndabezitha
- 24: Second interview with Nomaswazi Shongwe
- 25: Interview with Thabiso Ndaba  
Interview with Laza Mtwla
- 27: Interview with Mr. Malinga  
Second interview with Thabiso Ndaba
- 29: Interview with Mbuyisi Gwacela  
Interview with Ngcwabaza Ramsay
- 30: Interview with Mrs. Sibisi
- October: 2: Interview with Nhlahla Mpondi
- 4: Interview with Jeremy Routledge
- 5: Second interview with Ngcwabaza Ramsay  
Second interview with Mr. Sibisi  
Second interview with Laza Mtwla
- 7: Second interview with Thulani Phewa  
Second interview with Duduzile Cele  
Second interview Sphiwe Ntombela
- 9: Second interview with Jabu Mzaliya

**Johannesburg:**

- October: 15: Discussion with Dr Dwight Trigaard
- 16: Discussion with Paul Musket



- 20: Interview with Eric Mabaso
  - Interview with Laretta Ntshangela
  - Discussion with Monica Mnguni
- 22: Interview with Spinkie Rajuli
  - Interview with Angeline Poo
- 23: Discussion with Arron Mahlanki
  - Interview with Tshepo Mngomezulu
- 29: Interview with Parker Monala
  - Interview with Sikhumbuzo Nkosi
- November: 9: Interview with Mrs. Mabaso
  - Second interview with Ezra Hlubi
  - Interview with Granny Mabaso
- 10: Second interview with Granny Mabaso
  - Interview with Matomi Kumalo
- 12: Interview with Richard Nkabinde
- 13: Interview with Gugu Khumalo
  - Interview with Cherly Peterson
  - Interview with Derrick Daya
- 15: Discussion with Paul Musket
  - Discussion with Monica Mnguni
- 16: Interview with Nontuthu Dlamini
  - Interview with Everlyn Dube
- 18: Interview with Mpho Poo
  - Interview with Elaine Mabokwe
- 21: Interview with Joseph Maleka
  - Discussion with Dr Jonathan Jansen
- 25: Discussion with Paul Musket

26: Second interview with Peter Soothey

27: Interview with Ntombi Radebe

December: 1: Interview with Phyllis Lerotwane

Interview with Thulas Nxasane

### **Britain**

July 1993: 15: Interview with Magnum Ntombela, Leeds

*Phase II: 1994 : short interviews lasting 15 minutes*

### **Johannesburg**

May 5: Interview with Spinkie Rajuili

Interview with Idah Malapi

Interview with Sylvia Mthenjane

Interview with Zanele Zondi

6: Interview with Sophie Segwai

Interview with Dorothy Thoane

Interview with Sarah Mkuchane

7: Interview with Edith Mphahlele

Interview with Refilwe Monegi

Interview with Florence Maponyane

8: Interview with Thulile Sithole

Interview with Jeanette Mottaletsa

Interview with Esther Mokonoto

12: Interview with Jessie Sikhosana

Interview with Joan Mofokeng

14: Interview with Lydia Mahlangu

Interview with Eddie Nkomo

- December      5: Interview with Angeline Poo  
                     Interview with Parker Monala  
                     Discussion with Richard Nkabinde  
                     7: Discussion with Granny Mabaso  
                     Discussion with Arron Mahlanki  
                     8: Discussion with Clive Harrison  
                     12: Discussion with Gugu Khumalo  
                     Discussion with Laretta Ntshangela  
                     15: Discussion with Matomi Khumalo  
                     Discussion with Mrs. Mabaso  
                     Discussion with Everlyn Dube

*Phase III: 1995*

- January        6: Interview with Thulas Nxasane  
                     7: Discussion with Ngcwabaza  
                     9: Discussion with Spinkie Rajuili  
                     10: Discussion with the following teachers as a group:  
                         Idah Malapi, Sylvia Mthenjane, Joan Mofokeng,  
                         Eszra Hlubi, Eddy Nkomo, Montoa Molifi,  
                         Jessie Sikhosana

**B: Project Documents:**

**English Language Information Centre (ELTIC)**

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### **Teachers' Upgrading Project (TUP)**

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## **Appendices**

## Appendix 1A

### Other Interviewees and Key Informants

Interviewees	Name of Organisation and Position
Clive Harrison	Ex Co-ordinator, TUP Johannesburg, 1984-87
Curtis Nkondo	Ex-President, NEUSA
Dr Jonathan Jansen	Academic, Abel Project, Johannesburg
Harry Mashabela	Area Manager, SEP, Johannesburg
Dr Jane Hofmeyer	Director (Teacher Education), Urban
Jeff Kegerilwe	Foundation, Johannesburg
Jeremy Routledge	Tutor, TUP, Johannesburg, 1986-89
Dr Ken Hartshone	Ex-Director, SEP, KwaZulu-Natal, 1983-87
Magnum Ntombela	Academic, Wits University, Johannesburg
Mervyn Orgle	Regional Director, SEP, KwaZulu-Natal
Monica Mnguni	Director, Anglovaal Project, Durban
Dr Dwight Trigaard	Co-ordinator, ELTIC, Johannesburg
Nomaswazi Hlubi	Executive Director, SEP, Johannesburg
Paul Musket	Co-ordinator, Anglovaal Project, Durban
Peter Soothey	Director, ELTIC, Johannesburg
Thandi Ngengebule	Regional Director, DET, Johannesburg
Thembi Ndhlalane	Deputy Director, SACHED, Johannesburg
Thulas Nxasane	Co-ordinator, SEP, Durban
Phyllis Lerotwane	Deputy Secretary General, SADTU
Dr Linda Chisholm	Executive Member, ATASA
Violet Mabotsa	Academic, Wits University
Chipane Kgaphola	SEP, Area Co-ordinator, Lebowa
Mohan Mahandra	TUP Ex Co-ordinator, Johannesburg, 1988-89
	TUP Tutor, 1986-89



## Appendix 1B (i)

### English Language Teaching Information Centre [ELTIC]

Interviewees	Schools
Angeline Poo	Blair Atholl**
Cherly Peterson	Morris Issacson *
Derrick Daya	Crown Mines *
Elaine Mabokwe	Giyane, Soweto **
Eric Mabaso	Orlando West *
Everlyn Dube	Tarlton **
Granny Mabaso	Progress *
Gugu Khumalo	Sekanotoane *
Joseph Maleka	Ikageng **
Lauretta Tshangela	Morris Issacson *
Matomi Khumalo	Fidelitas *
Mpho Poo	Riverise **
Mrs Mabaso	Phefeni *
Nontuthu Dlamini	Masikela **
Parker Monala	Mosupatsela *
Richard Nkabinde	Sizanani **
Sikhumbuzo Nkosi	Kagiso *
Spinkie Rajuile	Prudence *
Tshepo Mngomezulu	Orlando West *
Arron Mahlanki	Thulasizwe **

\*High Schools    \*\*Primary Schools

Teachers	Schools
10 Male	8 Primary
10 Female	8 High School

## Appendix 1B (ii)

### Teachers' Upgrading Project [TUP]

Interviewees	Schools
Busisiwe Mbekwa	Mzamo **
Cecilia Mekhoe	Ikwezi **
Dorothy Thoane	Sapebuso **
Eddie Nkomo	Thulasizwe **
Edith Mphahlele	Palesa **
Esther Mokonoto	Paul Mosaka **
Esza Hlubi	Phefeni *
Florenca Maponyane	Meadowlands *
Idah Malapi	Zenzele **
Jeanette Motlaletsa	Thlorenq **
Jessie Sikhosana	Zakheni **
Joan Mofokeng	Belle **
Lydia Mahlangu	Ikwezi **
Montoa Molifi	Zakheni **
Refilwe Monegi	Palesa **
Sarah Mkuchane	Emadwaleni *
Segwai Sophie	Evungwini **
Sylvia Mthenjane	Ikwezi **
Thulile Sithole	Prudence *
Zanele Zondi	Zithathele **

\*High Schools    \*\*Primary Schools

Teachers	Schools
2 Male	12 Primary
18 Female	4 High School

## Appendix 1B (iii)

### Names of Teachers and Their Schools

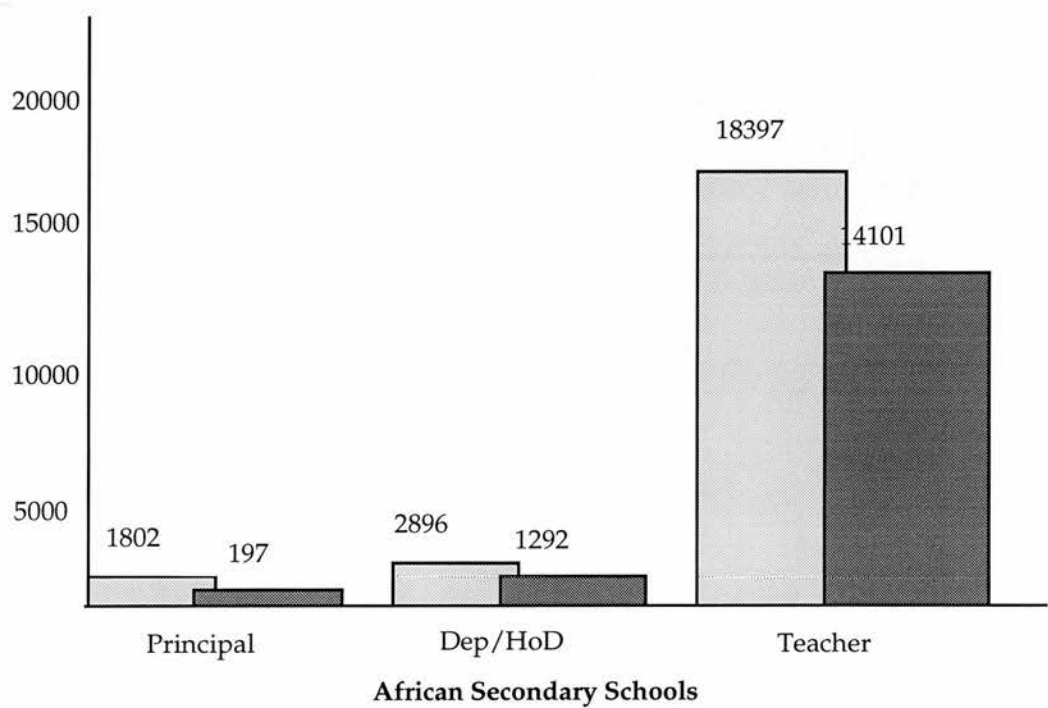
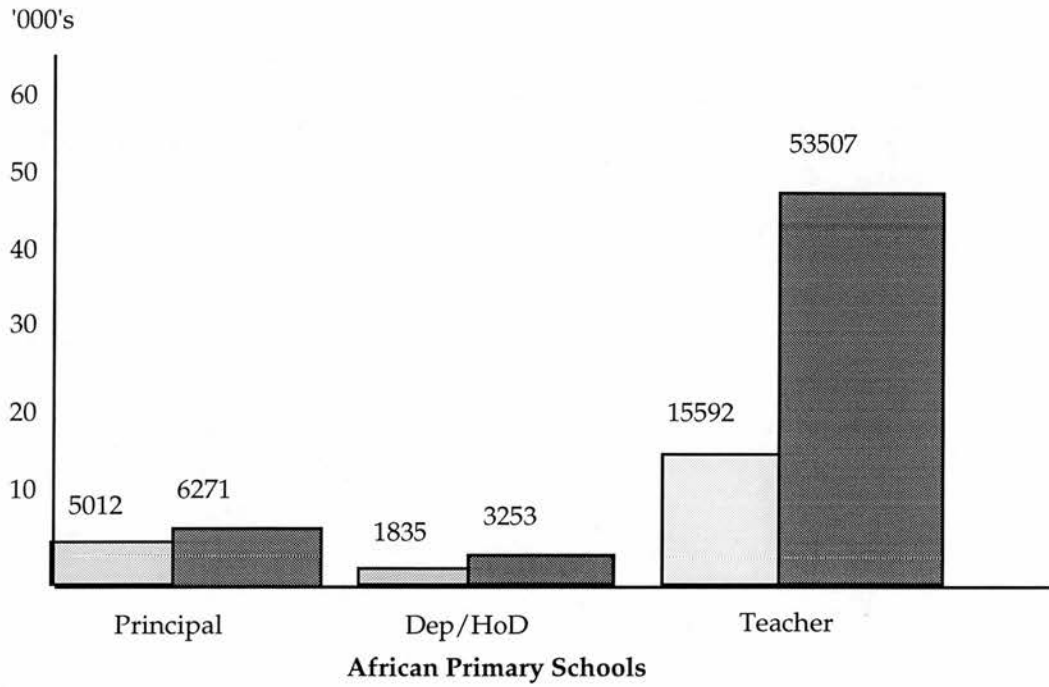
#### The Science Education Project [SEP]

Interviewees	Schools
Duduzile Cele	Chief Luthuli
Stella Khumalo	Mnganiwakhe
Thembisile Shandu	Mnganiwakhe
Nhlanhla Zondi	Nqabakazulu
Thabiso Ndaba	Luthuli
Nhlanhla Mpondi	Zepha Dlomo
Nompumelelo Yeni	Mpolweni
Mrs Sibisi	Margot Fonteyn
Ndabezitha	Mafombuka
Magubane	Margot Fonteyn
Laza Mtwla	Margot Fonteyn
Mrs Malinga	KwaSanti
Mkhabela Baby	Siyahlomula
Nomaswazi Shongwe	Mafombuka
Mbugisi Gwacela	Margot Fonteyn
Ngcwabaza Ramsay	Clernaville
Ntombi Radebe	Lamontville
Jabu Mzaliya	Lamontville
Thulani Phewa	Emakholwa
Simphiwe Ntombela	Sithengile

Teachers	Schools
10 Male	16 High School
10 Female	

Appendix 1C

African School Staff by Rank and Gender, 1990  
(Excluding TBVC)



 male       female      Source: EduSource, (1993)

## APPENDIX 1D

### PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE

**N.B. Where boxes are provided, please TICK the appropriate box(es)**

#### 1. PERSONAL DATA

1.1 Surname: .....

1.2 Name: .....

1.3 Sex: F ☐ M ☐

1.4 Age:

21-25	<input type="checkbox"/>
26-30	<input type="checkbox"/>
31-35	<input type="checkbox"/>
36-40	<input type="checkbox"/>
40 or older	<input type="checkbox"/>

1.5 Marital status:

Single	<input type="checkbox"/>
Married	<input type="checkbox"/>
Divorced	<input type="checkbox"/>
Widowed	<input type="checkbox"/>

1.6 Number of children:

None	<input type="checkbox"/>
1-2	<input type="checkbox"/>
3-4	<input type="checkbox"/>
5 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>

1.7 Ages of children:

5 or younger	<input type="checkbox"/>
6-10	<input type="checkbox"/>
11-20	<input type="checkbox"/>
21 or older	<input type="checkbox"/>



## 2. EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

2.1 Highest school qualification: Std 6

Std 8

Std 10

2.2 Teacher training qualification: PTC

STD

SSTD

University

Other (please specify)

.....

2.3 University degree (please state) .....

2.4 Are you presently registered for any course with Unisa, Vista or other college?

Yes  No

2.5 If YES, which course? .....

## 3. OCCUPATIONAL DATA

3.1 Which level of schooling do you teach?

Primary

High School

- 3.2 What is the name of your school? .....
- 3.3 In which area is the school?  
(e.g. Soweto) .....
- 3.4 For how long have you been  
teaching? .....
- 3.5 Which standard(s) do you teach? .....  
.....  
.....
- 3.6 Which subject(s) do you teach? (1).....  
(2).....  
(3).....  
(4).....  
(5).....
- 3.7 How many periods do you teach  
per week?
- |            |                      |
|------------|----------------------|
| 10 or less | <input type="text"/> |
| 11-16      | <input type="text"/> |
| 17-20      | <input type="text"/> |
| 21+        | <input type="text"/> |
- 3.8 What is the average class size  
you teach?
- |       |                      |
|-------|----------------------|
| 26-35 | <input type="text"/> |
| 36-45 | <input type="text"/> |
| 46+   | <input type="text"/> |
- 3.9 Do you supervise any extra-curricular activities?
- Yes  No

3.10 If YES, please state them

1.....

2.....

3.....

#### 4. STANDARD 10 QUALIFICATION

4.1 When did you obtain your matric? (year)

.....

4.2 How did you do your matric?

Part-time ☐

Full-time ☐

Correspondence ☐

4.3 How long did it take you to complete matric?

1 year ☐

2-3 years ☐

4-5 years ☐

6 or more ☐

4.4 What subjects did you study?

1.....

2.....

3.....

4.....

5.....

6.....

7.....

8.....

4.5 Do you teach any of the subjects you studied?

Yes ☐ No ☐

4.6 How did you take your matric exams?

JMB ☐ NSC ☐

4.7 Please explain why you chose JMB or NSC:

## 4.2 IN-SERVICE EDUCATION: NGO PROGRAMMES

4.2.1 How did you get to know about the programme?

DET circulars ☐

principal ☐

other teachers ☐

newspaper ☐

teacher's union ☐

other.....

4.2.2 Please state two reasons why you attended the programme

1.....

2.....

4.2.3 When did the training take place?

during school hours ☐

after school ☐

weekends ☐

during school holidays ☐

4.2.4 Was the time of the year when the programme was given convenient for you?

Yes ☐ No ☐

4.2.5 If NO, please explain why not:

4.2.6 Apart from this programme, did you attend any teacher upgrading programmes?

Yes  No

4.2.7 If YES, please name the programme(s) below:

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

**5. APPROACHES TO TEACHER DEVELOPMENT**

5.1 Before attending this programme, what were your major classroom problems? (e.g. discipline). Please name three and put these in the order of importance: (1 = most 3 = least)

- .....
- .....
- .....

5.2 Did the programme address the problems you mentioned in 5.1?

- |        |                      |    |                      |
|--------|----------------------|----|----------------------|
| 1. Yes | <input type="text"/> | No | <input type="text"/> |
| 2. Yes | <input type="text"/> | No | <input type="text"/> |
| 3. Yes | <input type="text"/> | No | <input type="text"/> |



- 5.3 What were your major expectations of this programme? Please list them in order of importance (1 = most 3 = least):

expectations

order of importance

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....

- 5.4 Did the programme meet the expectations you mentioned in 5.3?

- |    |     |                          |    |                          |
|----|-----|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| 1. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- 5.5 Do you think that the programme gave you an opportunity to use your own professional experience?

Yes ☐ No ☐

- 5.6 Did any aspect of the programme's curriculum reflect specifically black educational experiences?

Yes ☐ No ☐

- 5.7 If YES, please specify (e.g. school boycotts, overcrowded classroom ,authoritarian system, etc.)

## 6. IMPLEMENTATION AND RELEVANCE

- 6.1 As a teacher, do you think the teaching materials used in the programme were adaptable to your own classroom situation?

Yes  No

- 6.2 After training, were you able to use the knowledge and skills you had acquired?

Yes  No

- 6.3. If YES, please explain:

- 6.4 If NO, what do you think were the barriers? Please number these in order of importance (1 = most 4 = least):

- 6.5 Do you think you are now confident enough to teach your subject?

Yes  No

- 6.6 If YES, please comment:

6.7 If NO, please elaborate:

6.8 Did you get any certificate after training?

Yes ☐ No ☐

6.9 If NO, do you think you should be awarded one?

Yes ☐ No ☐

6.10 If YES, please explain your views:

*Thank you for your co-operation and time. If you need information regarding this research, please feel free to contact me through your project.*

*Cecilia Moyo*

## **Appendix 1E**

### **Questions Used Throughout Interviews With all Teachers**

#### **A. Personal Background**

Can you describe your childhood and your early schooling?

Who were your mentors in your life?

How would you describe yourself?

How would you describe your life-style?

What is your dream?

#### **B. Teacher Training**

Why did you decide to be a teacher?

Who and what influenced your choice?

What were your experiences at teacher training?

Do you think the training you received prepared you for teaching?

#### **C. Teaching or Professional Experiences**

How would you describe your work?

What are the significant events in your professional life and how have they affected you as a person?

What and who influences your teaching?

Where do you get ideas and insights into your work?

If you look at yourself, are you the teacher you want to be?

#### **D. Professional Development**

What motivates you to participate in a teacher development project?

What are your expectations when you join the programme?

Are those expectations met?

Can you describe your professional development experiences?

What adjustment do you have to make in your professional and personal life when you do professional upgrading?

What impact did professional development have in your life at professional and personal levels?

In your opinion, what is important about qualifications?

If you were given a chance to design a teacher professional development, what would be your priorities in that programme?



## Appendix 2A

### Geographical Distribution of Teacher Training Colleges Of Education For Blacks

Area	Name of College
* Johannesburg Region	Soweto College of Education
* Natal Region	Indumiso College of Education
* Northern Transvaal	Transvaal College of Education
* Orange Vaal	Mphohadi College of Education Sebokeng College of Education
* Cape Region	Cape College of Education
* Highveld Region	East Rand College of Education
Gazankulu	Hoxane Tivumbeni
Kangwane	Mgwenya
Kwazulo	Amanzimtoti Zulu Appelsbosch Eshowe Madadeni Mpumalanga Ntunzuma Umbumbulo College of Education Umlazi
Lebowa	Kwena Moloto Mokopane Sekhukhune Mamokgalake Chuene Setotolwane Dr . C. N . Phatudi Modjadji
Kwandebele	Ndebele College
Qwaqwa	Bonamelo Sefikeng Tshiya

Area	Name of College
Bophuthatswana	Batswana Boitseanape Hebron Moretele Strydom Taung Tihabane
Ciskei	Lernox Sebe Dr W.B. Rubusana Masibulele Zwelitsha
Venda	Tshisimani Venda College Makhado College
Transkei	Cicera College Butterworth Arthur Tsengiwe Training College Bensonvale Training College Maluti Training College Clarkebury Training Mt. Arthur Training Shawbury Training College Sigcaw Training College Bethel Training College

**Note:** \*Colleges in 'White' South Africa  
Others are located in the former homelands

## **Appendix 3A**

### **Principles for the Provision of Education in the RSA**

The principles, on which consensus was reached and which are recommended, are as follows:

#### **Principle 1**

Equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education, for every inhabitant, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be the purposeful endeavour of the State.

#### **Principle 2**

Education shall afford positive recognition of what is common as well as what is diverse in the religious and cultural way of life and the languages of the inhabitants.

#### **Principle 3**

Education shall give positive recognition to the freedom of choice of the individual, parents and organisations in society.

#### **Principle 4**

The provision of education shall be directed in an educationally responsible manner to meet the needs of the individual as well as those of society and economic development, and shall, inter alia, take into consideration the manpower needs of the country.

#### **Principle 5**

Education shall endeavour to achieve a positive relationship between the formal, non-formal and informal aspects of education in the school, society and family.

#### **Principle 6**

The provision of formal education shall be a responsibility of the State provided that the individual, parents and organized society shall have a shared responsibility, choice and voice in this matter.

#### **Principle 7**

The private sector and the state shall have a shared responsibility for the provision of non-formal education.

**Principle 8**

Provision shall be made for the establishment and state subsidisation of private education within the system of providing education.

**Principle 9**

In the provision of education the processes of centralization and decentralization shall be reconciled organizationally and functionally.

**Principle 10**

The professional status of the teacher and lecturer shall be recognized.

**Principle 11**

Effective provision of education shall be based on continuing research.

Source: HSRS (1981) Provision of Education in the RSA.

## **Appendix 3B**

### **Key to References**

In the report reference was made to the reports of the various work committees and the Symcom Report. The key to these references is as follows:

- 2: Work Committee: Education principles and policy  
Principles for the provision of education in the RSA
- 3: Work Committee: Education management
- 4: Work Committee: Education financing
- 5: Work Committee: Education system planning
- 6: Work Committee: Curriculum development
- 7: Work Committee: Guidance
- 8: Work Committee: Education for children with special educational needs
- 9: Work Committee: Building services
- 10: Work Committee: Health, medical and paramedical services
- 11: Work Committee: Demography, education and manpower
- 12: Work Committee: Teaching of the natural sciences, Mathematics and technical subjects
- 12T: Subcommittee: Technical and vocational education.  
Subcommittee of the Work Committee: Teaching of the natural sciences, Mathematics and technical subjects
- 13: Work Committee: Recruitment and training of teachers
- 14: Work Committee: Innovational strategies in education
- 15: Work Committee: Programme for equal quality in education



16: Work Committee: Legal aspects

17: Work Committee: Educational technology

18: Work Committee: Languages and language instruction

S: Syncom:               Towards viable systems for education and training for  
Southern Africa. HSRC. 1981

Source:    HSRC (1981) Provision of Education in the RSA.

## Appendix 3C

### The Main Committee

The Main Committee of the Investigation into Education, whose members in their personal capacity were appointed by the Council of the HSRC, was as follows:

Prof J P de Lange, Chairman	Rector, Rand Afrikaans University
Prof A N Boyce	Rector, Johannesburg College of Education
Dr S S Brand	Head, Financial Policy, Dept. of Finance
Dr R R M Cingo	Inspector of Schools, Kroonstad East Circuit, Dept. of Education and Training
Dr J G Garbers	President, Human Sciences Research Council
Mr J B Haasbroek	Director, South African Institute for Educational Research, HSRC
Dr K B Hartshorne	Centre of Continuing Education, University of the Witwatersrand
Prof J H Jooste	Director, Transvaal Education Department
Prof S R Maharaj	Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Durban-Westville
Dr P R T Nel *	Former Director of Education, Natal Dept. of Education and Dept. of Indian Education
Prof A C Nkabinde	Principal, University of Zululand
Mr R D Nobin	Inspector of Education, Dept. of Internal Affairs (Indian Affairs)
Mr M C O'Dowd	Anglo-American Corporation of SA Ltd
Mr A Pittendrigh	Director, Natal Technikon
Miss C C Regnart*	Westerford High School

Dr P Smit	Vice-President for Research Development, HSRC
Mr F A Sonn	Director, Peninsula Technikon and President, Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa
Mr J F Steyn	Chief Secretary, Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging and Secretary, Federal Council of Teachers' Associations
Prof N J Swart	Vice-Rector, Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education
Mr L M Taunyane	President, Transvaal United African Teachers' Association
Dr P J van der Merwe	Deputy Director-General, Department of Manpower
Prof R E van der Ross	Principal, University of the Western Cape
Prof F van der Stoep	Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria
Prof N T van Loggerenberg	Dean, Faculty of Education, University of the OFS and Chairman, South African Teachers' Council for Whites
Dr R H Venter	Director, University Affairs, Dept. of National Education
Prof W B Vosloo	Head, Dept. of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Stellenbosch

\*Dr W Askes, Education Planner, Department of Education and Training and Dr B Dobie, Faculty of Education, University of Natal and chairman of the Natal Teachers' Society, stood in for Dr P R T Nel and Miss C C Regnart respectively at a number of the meetings of the Main Committee.

Source: HSRC (1981) Provision of Education in the RSA.

**Appendix 5A**  
**Teacher Qualifications in Science & Mathematics Subjects**  
**DET Teacher Experience and Qualifications**  
**in Mathematics and Science, 1992**

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Teachers with less than 5 yrs' experience</b>		<b>Qualified teachers</b>		<b>Un(der)- qualified teachers</b>		<b>Total teachers in these subjects</b>
Mathematics	1,689	(47%)	1,007	(28%)	2,587	(72%)	3,594
Physical Science	676	(70%)	461	(48%)	505	(52%)	966
General Science	813	(46%)	349	(20%)	1,420	(80%)	1,769

Source: DET, Annual Report 1992, RP59/1993, p86

## Appendix 5B

### Teacher Qualification, 1990

	Unqualified %	Under--Qualified %	Qualified %
<b>Assembly*</b>	0	2	98
<b>Delegates</b>	0	2	98
<b>Representatives</b>	2	39	59
DET	12	54	34
Gazankulu	29	30	41
KaNdwane	41	32	27
KwaNdebele	13	51	36
KwaZulu	15	52	33
Lebowa	0	60	40
QwaQwa	3	70	27
Transkei	5	46	49
Bophuthatswana	9	59	32
Venda	18	31	51
Ciskei	8	57	35
<b>African Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>53</b>

Source: EduSource 1993

Note: \*Assembly: Department of White Education

Delegate: Department of Asian Education

Representative: Department of 'Coloured' Education

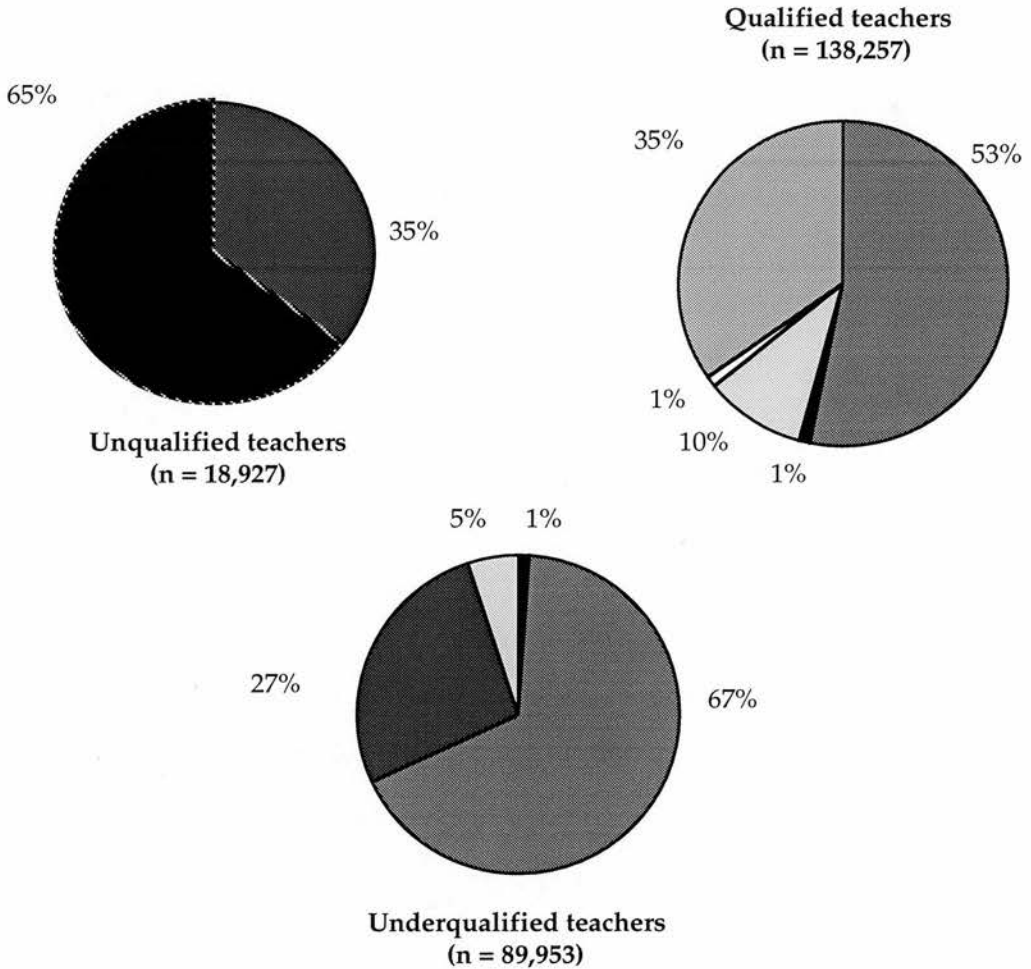
DET: Department which controlled black education in 'white' South Africa

Others are homeland departments



## Appendix 5C

### Teachers by Qualification and Monthly Income, 1990



	R5 216 - R6 311 £1,042 - £1,262		R3 932 - R5 030 £786 - £1,006
---	------------------------------------	---	----------------------------------

**Note: These figures apply to white and asian teachers only**

	R2 600 - R3 756 £520 - £751		R711 - R1 320 £142 - £264
	R1 430 - R2 457 £286 - £491		R466 - R626 £93 - £125

**Note: These figures apply to black teachers**

#### **Note: Teachers' Earnings**

Unqualified - no professional qualification

Underqualified - less than three years of professional training

Qualified - three and four years of professional training

## **Appendix 5D (i)**

### **Extract from the African History Course for Standard Ten**

#### **Educated people became a new elite**

The number of educated Africans was quite small, because there were not enough schools for everybody. Most educated Africans worked for the colonial administration in schools, hospitals, post offices and government offices. They earned a lot more money than people without education. And their jobs gave them more power and influence than other Africans. These educated people became the new elite.

Those African people who had most European education became the elite. In the early years of colonialism, colonies had mainly primary schools. So the jobs of clerks, interpreters, messengers and primary school teachers were the best that educated people could get. These people were the early educated elite.

In the later years of colonialism some colonies started high schools and universities. Then educated Africans could get jobs as lawyers, doctors, high school teachers, journalists and government officials. Then these people formed the educated elite.

Sometimes African cash crop farmers, traders and shopkeepers also managed to become rich. Then their wealth helped them to be part of the new elite. And they made sure that their children went to school and learned in the European way.

Remember that chiefs and elders were the elite with power and influence in traditional societies. Many chiefs and elders sent their sons to

European schools, so that the sons could benefit both from the traditional power of the father and the new power of education.

## The lifestyle of the new elite

School educated Africans started to live a life that was very different from traditional societies. They realized that European colonization had created a different society in Africa, with new opportunities and new jobs. They wanted to be successful in this new society. so they rejected parts of their traditional culture and started to accept European values and way of living. Most school educated Africans went to live in the towns. They wore European clothes, bought European furniture, built European-type houses and had European wedding ceremonies. As a Tanzanian man said in 1925: *"People can say what they like, but to the African mind to copy the Europeans is civilization"*.

Many educated Africans also thought that differences between African cultures and languages were not so important anymore. They thought that education helped to unite Africans. they began to think of themselves as Africans, as Nigerians or South Africans or whatever, and no longer thought of themselves as Yoruba or Igbo or Zulu or Swazi.

Educated Africans did not only talk about unity between Africans, they also practised it in their lives. For example:

- Sol Plaatje who was a Tswana-speaking man in South Africa, married a Xhosa-speaking woman although both their parents were not pleased with the marriage.
- John Chilembwe was an educated Yao-speaking man in Malawi. His closest friend was an educated Sena-speaking man called John Grey Kufa.
- Erica Fiah was an educated Ganda-speaking man. He spent most of his life in Dar es Salaam working with Swahili-speaking people.

## **The problems of the new elite**

The main problem of educated Africans was that the Europeans needed some educated Africans but they did not want educated Africans to get any power in the colonial society. On the one hand, the colonial administration needed African clerks, interpreters, teachers and so on. They could pay Africans lower wages than Europeans. And African employees helped them to govern better, because the African clerks and teachers spoke the same language as the other people. On the other hand, the administration did not want the Africans to get jobs where Africans could make decisions and get control in the colonial society.

But many educated Africans wanted responsible jobs and equality with Europeans. So educated Africans had many complaints about the way they were treated under colonial rule.

### **Complaints about social discrimination**

Educated Africans in all colonies were angry that they were discriminated against in their social lives. Africans could not belong to the European clubs. They were not treated with respect. And Africans could not use the railways or restaurants that Europeans used.

### **Complaints about educational discrimination**

Many educated Africans complained that the school education they received was not good enough. They demanded more schools for Africans. They demanded that mission and government schools improve the standard of education. And they wanted control over what was taught in schools.



### **Complaints about economic discrimination**

Educated Africans also complained about discrimination at work. They could not get the kind of jobs that they wanted. They could not get jobs where they made decisions and had responsibility. And Europeans got more money than Africans in the same jobs.

### **Complaints about political discrimination**

Educated Africans demanded responsible jobs in the governments of their country. They were angry that educated Africans could only get low-down jobs in the administration. For example, Ghana was a colony that had more educated Africans than any other colony in the 1920's. But the best jobs that Africans could get in the colonial administration were jobs as clerks. The Europeans made all the important political decisions.

Erica Fiah, an educated man in Tanzania, complained that Africans had no say in the government. He wrote in this newspaper in 1941: *"Africans must have African representatives in the Legislative Council of the government"*.

Now lets do an exercise about educated elites. The exercise will help you to understand better the difficult position that educated Africans had in society.

#### **Exercise 4a**

**If you are working alone, please read this:**

Take 15 minutes for this exercise.

#### **Things to think about**

1. Read the passage below.

- |   |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>2. Think about the questions.</li><li>3. Write your answers in the spaces provided.</li></ol> |
|---|

**If you are working in a group, read this:**

Take 15 minutes for this exercise.

**Group talk**

1. The discussion leader should read the passage below.
2. Divide into pairs.
3. Discuss the questions with your partner and then write your answers in the space provided.
4. Discuss your answers in the group.

The historian Basil Davidson wrote about the educated elite in Africa in the early 20th century. He wrote: *"They were men who stood between two civilizations. They deeply admired the white civilization, but the white civilization did not want them. They despised the black civilization, but anyway the black civilization did not want them either".*

**What do you think?**

1. Why did the educated Africans admire and want European culture?

.....

2. Why did the Europeans reject educated Africans?

.....

3. Why did educated Africans despise traditional African culture?

.....

4. Why did traditional Africans reject educated Africans?

.....

5. Now imagine that you were an educated African in the early 20th century. Imagine that you were a clerk working for the railways. Your job was about the best job that an African could get. You were not satisfied with your salary, but your salary was much higher than the salary of African workers. Then the African railway workers went on strike. They went on strike to demand higher wages for themselves. Would you join the strike? Give reasons for your decision.

.....

.....

<b>TURN TO THE BACK OF THE BOOK</b>	When you have finished, you can turn to the back of the book and compare your answers with ours.
---	--

Source: African History Course Workbook (1982), pp.15-19

APPENDIX 5D(ii)  
Extract from the English Course for Standard 10

**LESSON 14**

**Using Language**

**COMPARING AND CONTRASTING**

In Lesson 13, you learnt how paragraphs can be developed by comparing and contrasting ideas.

**In this lesson you will**

- learn to write sentences that compare things
- learn about degrees of comparison
- learn to write sentences that contrast things
- write a reply to a letter

**LOOKING AT LANGUAGE**

We can compare and contrast two things by highlighting differences or similarities.

- when we **compare**, we highlight the **similarities** and **difference**.
- when we contrast two things, we highlight the **differences** only.

Let's begin the lesson by learning how to compare things by expressing their similarities

**EXPRESSING SIMILARITIES**

We can show that 2 things are the same, or equal, in the following ways:

- BOTH Moremi and Chobe are game reserves
- Moremi and Chobe are BOTH game reserves
- Moremi, Chobe and the Kruger National Park are ALL game reserves
- ALL of the tours are expensive
- Water is AS clear AS glass
- Moremi and Chobe are AS dry AS dust

We could show these sentences in a diagram like this:

<b>BOTH</b> A + B are	_____
A + B are <b>BOTH</b>	_____
A, B, C are <b>ALL</b>	_____
<b>ALL</b> of A, B, C are	_____
A is <b>AS</b>	_____ <b>AS</b> _____
A + B <b>ARE AS</b>	_____ <b>AS</b> _____

# EXERCISE 1

Use the kinds of sentences in the above table to fill in the missing words below:

- a) Wildebeest and buffalo are\_\_\_\_\_ big game animals.
- (b) Lion, giraffe and zebra are\_\_\_\_\_ big game animals.
- (c) \_\_\_\_\_ the six tours are to Northern Botswana.
- (d) An elephant is as dangerous\_\_\_\_\_ a lion.
- (e) \_\_\_\_\_ reedbuck and impala are antelopes.
- (f) The Okavango Swamps are \_\_\_\_\_  
interesting \_\_\_\_\_ the Game Reserves.

## Similar and Like

If we want to say that people, actions or things are **similar**, but not exactly the same, we can also use the words **similar** or **like**. The diagram below shows how these words can be used in a sentence:



Moremi and Chobe ARE SIMILAR in terms of the animals you can see

Moremi IS SIMILAR TO Chobe in terms of available accommodation

Moremi IS LIKE Chobe

Moremi and Chobe ARE ALIKE in many ways

## EXERCISE 2

Write full sentences to answer these questions. Use the links in brackets to write your answers

- (a) In what way are TFC and **Born Free Safaris** similar?  
(both)

---

- (b) In what way are **Game Trails** similar to **Born Free Safaris**?  
(both)

---

- (c) How are TFC, **Safariplan** and **Thompson tours** similar?  
(all similar)

---

- (d) In which 4 ways are **Safariplan** and **Thompson tours** similar?  
(alike)

---

Let's now go on to examine how to express differences.

## EXPRESSING DIFFERENCES

In Reading Lesson 13, you learnt that links such as **but** and **whereas** contrast two things.

Let's look at another way we can express differences.

### Degree of comparison

Sometimes we want to compare one aspect of two or more things.

Imagine that someone has asked you, 'How big is Moremi Game Reserve?'

You could say"

1. 'Moremi is small'.

or

2. 'Moremi is smaller than the Kruger National Park'.

or

3. 'Moremi is the smallest Game Reserve in Southern Africa'.

In the first of these sentences, you are simply describing Moremi.

**It is a small Game Reserve.**

**We call this the POSITIVE FORM.**

In the second sentence, you compared Moremi to **one other game reserve**. It is not as big as the Kruger National Park.

Therefore we say: **It is SMALLER than the Kruger National Park.**

**We call this the COMPARATIVE FORM.**

**The comparative form is used when two items are compared.**

In the third sentence, you compared Moremi to a **group of other game reserves**. It is smaller than any of the others.

Therefore we say: **It is the SMALLEST of them all.**

**We call this the SUPERLATIVE FORM**

**The superlative form is used when more than two items are compared**

Let's look at how to write degrees of comparison.

Look at the constructions below:

Comparative:	MORE _____ THAN	For example: more expensive than
	_____ER THAN	For example: bigger than
Superlative:	MOST _____ OF THEM ALL	For example: most expensive of them all
	MOST _____ OF THE THREE	For example: most expensive of the three
	MOST _____ IN THE GROUP	For example: most expensive in the group
	_____ EST OF THEM ALL	For example: biggest of them all
	_____ EST OF THE THREE	For example: Biggest of the three
	_____ EST IN THE GROUP	For example: Biggest in the group

Notice the prepositions on and in are usually used with the superlative forms.

Use the above table to do the next exercise.

### EXERCISE 3

Fill in the missing word in the space provided.

- (a) Jill loves Botswana \_\_\_\_\_ than South Africa.
- (b) The Game Reserves have \_\_\_\_\_ game than the Swamps.
- (c) The Okavango is the \_\_\_\_\_ beautiful place in the world.
- (d) It was the \_\_\_\_\_ boring Journey I have ever had.
- (e) It was the \_\_\_\_\_ enjoyable holiday of them all

Here is a rule to remember:

When you compare things, you never use **more** on its own. It is always **more than** something.

You will have noticed that you can compare two or more things by putting **-er, -est** on the end of the word or by using more or most before the word.

For example: **MORE expensive THAN** but **the biggER place**

**the MOST expensive** but **the biggEST place**

Let's look at how to form degrees of comparison.

Here are the three degrees of comparison of some adjectives and adverbs.

Positive Form	Comparative Form	Superlative Form
happy	happIER	happIEST
late	latER	latEST
big	biggER	biggEST
fast	fastER	fastEST
Summary:	add-er	add-est

A long word can have **more** or **most** added instead of **-er** and **-est**

intelligent	more intelligent	most intelligent
beautiful	more beautiful	most beautiful
believable	more believable	most believable
tiring	more tiring	most tiring
tragic	more tragic	most tragic
enormous	more enormous	most enormous

Here is a list of irregular forms which you will often use:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
many	more	most
much	more	most
good	better	best
little	less	least
bad	worse	worst

You will learn more about how to form degrees of comparisons in Book 6 of the English Course. For the moment, take note of these common errors.

### Some common errors

Take note: We never combine MORE with -ER or -EST  
nor do we combine MOST with -ER or -EST  
We always say something is bigger **than**  
something else

e.g. Sometimes people mistakenly write

'more taller'

'most tallest'

'more tallest' or 'most taller'

**X**

**ALL THESE  
ARE WRONG!**

Before you go on to practise using degrees of comparison, here are two spelling points to remember.

### A spelling hint

When adding -er or -est to form a comparison

1. If the positive form ends in y, change the y to i before adding -er or -est  
For example: happy      happier      happiest
2. If the positive form ends in one vowel followed by a single consonant, double the consonant before adding -er or -est  
For example: big      bigger      biggest



## EXERCISE 4

Combine the following statement using the comparatives form of the word in brackets. For example: Tour A costs R1000.

Tour B costs R1500. (expensive)

Tour B is more expensive than tour A.

- (a) Delta tours last 7 days. Papadi tours last 15 days. (long)

---

- (b) Safariplan tours cost R1469. Born free Safari's cost R1675. (cheap)

---

- (c) We saw nine elephants at Chobe. We saw one elephant at Okavango. (more)

---

- (d) Accommodation in huts is comfortable. Accommodation in tents is uncomfortable. (bad)

---

- (e) On participation tours you do your own hard work. On serviced tours staff members do the hard work for you. (little)

---

- (f) Temperatures are very high during the day. It is cool at night. (high)

---

(g) Thompson tours are helpful. Papadi tours are very helpful. (good)

---

(h) Surface travel is slow. Air travel is fast. (slow)

---

(i) Travelling by landrover is tiring. Walking is very tiring. (tiring)

---

Let's sum up what you have learnt so far.

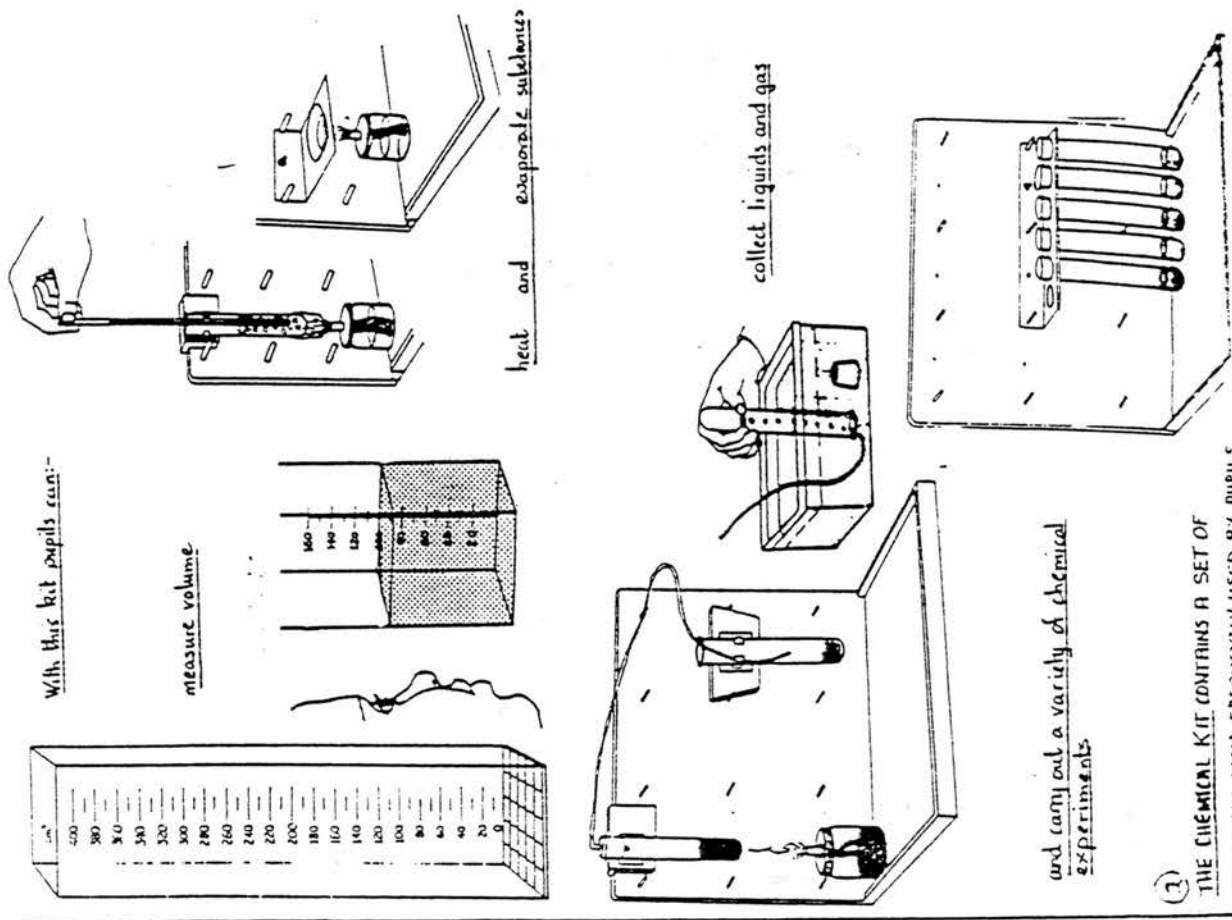
### Let's sum up

So far in this lesson you have learnt how to use both, all, similar, like and as to express similarities.

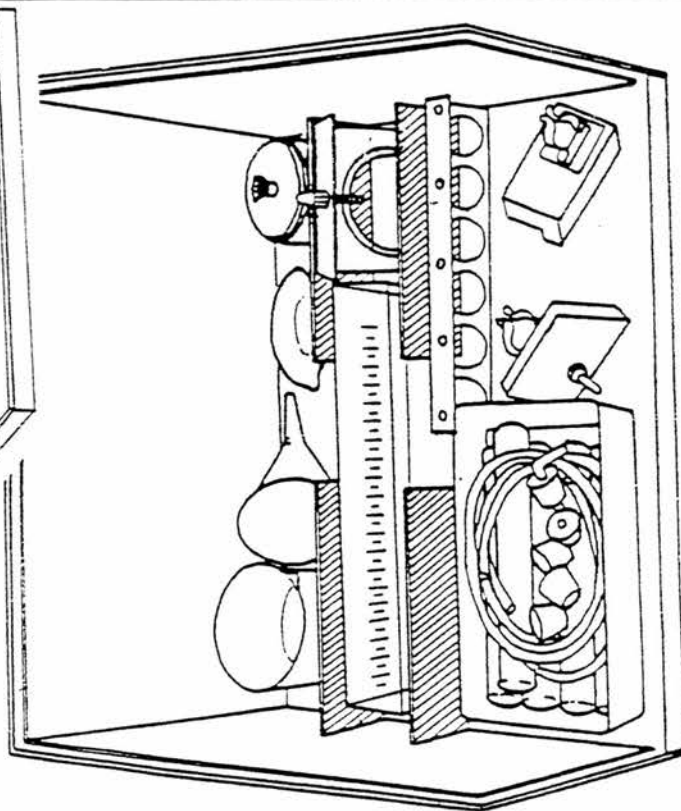
- Sometimes, if you want to compare one aspect of two or more things, you can use degrees of comparison. There are 3 degrees of comparison:  
the positive form  
the comparative form  
the superlative form

The **comparative form** is used when two items are compared, e.g. **taller than** or **more expensive than**. The **superlative form** is used when more than two items are compared, e.g. **the tallest** or **the most expensive**.

## Illustrations of Science Kit



① The basic Science Kit consists of a box of simple apparatus. The lid of the box forms the baseboard for setting up the apparatus.

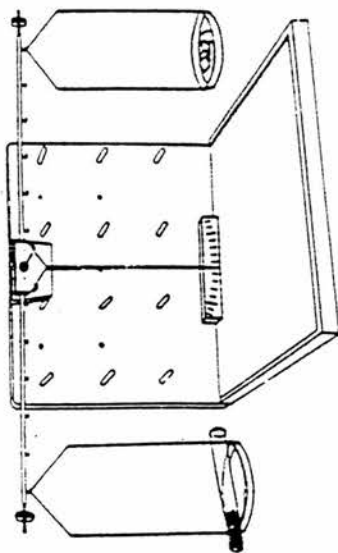


and carry out a variety of chemical experiments

THE CHEMICAL KIT CONTAINS A SET OF

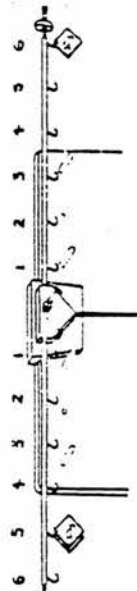
U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1967

(3) THE BALANCE KIT IS USED FOR



measuring mass

and the forces  
that turn a beam.

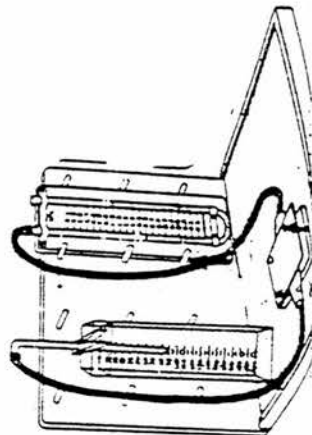


(4) THE FORCE AND PRESSURE KIT IS USED FOR

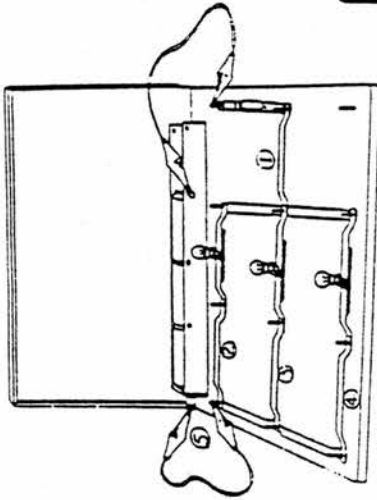


measuring forces  
e.g. friction

and measuring  
changes in pressure

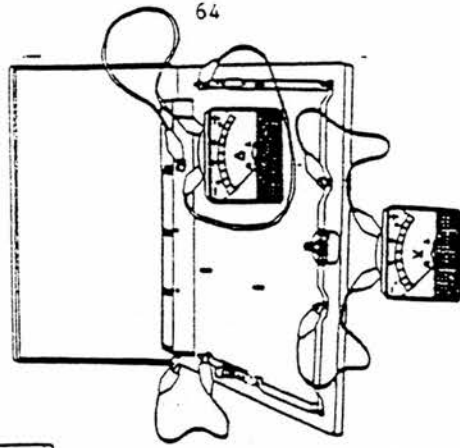


(5) THE ELECTRICITY KIT IS USED FOR

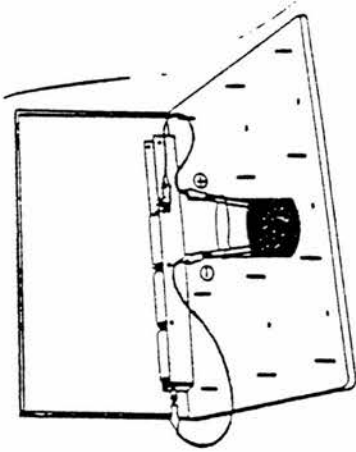


demonstrating the flow  
of current

measuring potential difference  
and resistance



and the chemical effects  
of an electric current



## **Appendix 5F**

### **SEP Donors**

AECI

Nalco Foundation (Anikem)

British ODA

Combustion Engineering Inc.

Energos Foundation

Highveld Educational Trust

Independent Development Trust

JCI

The Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund

United Technologies

US-Aid

AS and TS

Ambassade de France

Anglovaal

Argus Newspapers Ltd.

Blue Circle Educational Trust

Chamber of Mines of South Africa

Chemical Services Ltd.

CNA

Colin Campbell Trust

Crown Cork Company

Desmond Leech Bequest

Douglas Murray Trust



Equal Opportunity Foundation  
First National Bank  
Foschini  
Tycon (Pty) Ltd.  
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Hagge Son & Love Jubilee Trust  
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Hulett Aluminium Ltd.  
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LTA  
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Pfizer  
Pick & Pay  
R B Hagart Trust  
Rand Mines  
The Stella and Paul Lowenstein Trust  
S A Perm  
Southern Foundation  
Standard Bank Foundation  
Vaal Educational Trust  
Woolworths

## **Appendix 5G**

### **Donors**

The Anglo American & De Beers Chairman's Fund

British Council

First National Bank

Human Resources Trust

Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. Ltd.

Kagiso Trust

Mobil Foundation of South Africa

Nestle (South Africa) (Pty) Limited

Netherlands Embassy

Otis Elevator Company Limited

Rockefeller Brothers' Fund

Standard Bank

USIS/American Embassy

## Appendix 7A

### Courses Chosen by Teachers: Vista Programme

Courses Chosen	Relevance: Teaching	Relevance: Social Education	Not Relevant at all
African Languages*	11		41
Biblical Studies*	2	21	29
Criminology*		1	51
Education**		52	
Economics***	5	1	
Geography***	1		
History*	10	18	24
Public Administration ***		5	
Practical English***	40		
Psychology*		52	
Sociology***	2	3	
Maths***	1		
Science***	1		
Home Economics	15		10

\*Courses taken by all teachers

\*\*Compulsory course

\*\*\*Course not taken by all teachers, individual choice

NB: 52 teachers in this study were upgrading under the Vista Scheme

## Appendix 7B

### Course Chosen by Teachers Studying for Standard Ten

Courses Chosen	Relevance	%	Irrelevance	%
African Languages <sup>1*</sup>	16	80%	4	20%
Afrikaans*	1	5%	19	95%
Biblical Studies	15	75%	5	25%
Biology	2	10%	18	90%
Business Economics	1	5%	19	95%
English	20	100%		
Geography	5	25%	15	75%
History	3	15%	17	85%
Home Economics	16	80%	4	20%
Criminology			20	100%
Physiology	2	10%	18	90%

Relevance is viewed in terms of whether a teacher is teaching that subject she/he is studying in a professional development programme.

<sup>1</sup>African Languages are: Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, N. Sotho, S. Sotho, Tsonga and Ndebele

\*Compulsory subjects